Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1945

02_11th — Letter to ‘’dear Friends’’ (Montreal), re: fixing the name and editor of *Labor Challenge;* finances; articles proposed

10_28th — Minutes of meeting of P.C. re: Paper; educational director, provincial election, CP of C (dissident Stalinists in BC)

12_98 — (*Undated notes with changes made by RD found in 1945)*, re: coast-to-coast strike wave unfolding; anti-labor legislation and labor conciliation met with further strike action; injunctions and arrests of strikers; the use of troops against strikes, illegal strikes continue in Nova Scotia; Ontario Premier Hepburn orders RCMP ‘’Cossacks’’ to guard Oshawa auto plants from CIO organizers; the Campbell Soup strike (7 pages)

12_99 — *(Undated handwritten notes dated by RD ‘’Fall of 1945”)* re: addressing ‘’the problem of French Canada;’’ a historical sketch and the role of the clergy; monopoly capitalism finds a rich field of exploitation today; the rise of petit bourgeois nationalism; comparing wages and hours in Quebec with Ontario; the dead weight of the church and distorted society and education; Lenin quoted on the right of secession of enslaved nations; the reactionary and negative nature of present Quebec nationalism; the lack of any progressive ends of secession existing in Quebec today; ‘’however the sentiment that the nationalist movement exploits is essentially progressive – ‘

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1946
General, including Montreal and Windsor correspondence (*See Vancouver & B.C. below)*

01_12 — Letter to Comrades (of the RWP, Montreal), re: financial contributions; personnel

01_11 — 3 JPG files: -1,-2,-3 Minutes of Political Committee (PC) RWP; additional full-time person for Montreal sent, ***Resolution on French Constitutional Referendum, Draft Resolution on the World Conference of the Fourth International (FI)***

01_14 — Letter to Don (Windsor), re: the press blackout of our Mayoralty election campaign, CP and CCF endorse Tory candidate

03_21 — ***Document: March IB: Political Committee document ‘’Perspectives for the Canadian Section;”*** the importance of the party; the treachery of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties; the belated political development of the class in North America; our intervention in the CCF; our basic strategy towards the CCF; history of the entry tactic; the main task of building the revolutionary party

03_22 — Letter to Comrades (Montreal), re: the movement financial crisis

04_29 — Letter to Louis (Montreal), re: attempts to hold study classes; personnel and financial challenges

05_01 — Transcription of **May Day speech** (from RD’s notes), Toronto: unable to get a hall for the meeting; the history of May Day 1886 and since in Europe and America

05_04 — Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal) re: west coast comrades planning to come East; their potential value for the Montreal branch

06_19 — Letter to the Montreal Branch, Comrades; an emergency communication re: the

subscription drive; the need to connect with both the French and English working class in Quebec

07_00 ***Document from the July IB of the Canadian Section of the F.I. by R.D.; ''A contribution to the discussion;"*** a brief history of the difficult birth of Trotskyism in Canada; the isolation and demoralization of the W.P. and the first fruitless entry into the CCF; the 1938 reconciliation of party factions nullified by World War 2; the 1944 regrouping of the movement; the debate on setting up an independent revolutionary party; the urgent need for such a party today in Canada; the inadequacy of the CCF for the task at hand; the necessity to move out beyond the CCF

08_11th Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal), re: the possible Stalinists leading a one-day strike in Valleyfield and our withdrawing from the WLB

08_23rd Letter to Louis (Montreal), re: emphasizing the importance of the Montreal group; its lack of financial response and party organization

08_28th Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal), re: developments in Quebec Stalinist politics; ''conference" preparations

09_07th Letter to Alice (Montreal), re: (RWP) founding convention plans; prominent B.C. trade union comrades resign from CCF

09_99 *(Undated letter)* To All Branches for their immediate attention: the RWP founding convention mandated fund drives; the suggested branch quotas are given for adoption as minimums

10_00 Undated transcribed RD speech notes ''On the launching of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP);'' gathered around the program of *Labor Challenge;* the profound crisis of Stalinism; the urgent need for a revolutionary party of the class

10_02-1 Letter to Maurice (Windsur - surname?) from RD re RWP convention

10_02-2 "First meeting of new Political Committee" (PC Minutes); decision to send M (Murray Dowson) as substitute to Montreal after his mayoralty campaign in Toronto, journal sub campaign

10_07 Letter to Don (Windsor) re success of RWP convention which included prominent BC union activists

10_08 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal), re: inviting him to reply to a *Toronto Star* article on labor independent political action

10_08B Toronto *Globe & Mail* article on the founding of the RWP: ''Up the Revolution;'' garbled report centres on LPP (CPC) strength and union influence in Canada

10_09 Letter to Alice (Montreal), re: brief report on the convention; seeking news reports from Quebec; the availability of French-language Marxist literature

10_10 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal), re: the defection of a comrade and his rotten politics hold a lesson for us

10_30 Undated transcribed article from notes by RD: ''The revolutionary situation in Europe following World War II;'' the crisis of capitalism sharpest in Europe and the working class of Britain the most experienced; the bankruptcy of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats; the second stage of working-class mobilization approaching; an opportunity for the parties of the Fourth International

10_31 ***Document: RD speech ''Russian Revolution Memorial 46;"*** the 29 anniversary of the event which proved the working class can take power; the storm that swept Europe and shook the world; the need to extend the Revolution; Trotsky's defeat and Stalinist betrayal and terror; the isolation of the Revolution; the illusory strength of Stalinism

11_04 +P.C. Meeting minutes: CP youth in BC moving towards RWP; IWA expansion into Quebec; financial drive

11_08 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal), re: the situation in the Montreal branch, the IWA unionization drive and his election victory

11_13 +Letter to Members of the National Committee; Comrade Bradley's sudden decision to return to BC

11_17 Letter to Don & Eleanor (Windsor), re: his activity in the Detroit SWP branch; finances and local subscriber contacts

11_21	Letter to George (Novack, SWP, New York), re: a complete and detailed report of the progress and problems of the RWP (4+ pp)
11_99	Undated speech found in 1946, transcribed from RD's notes, ''What is Trotskyism?'' (to a group of young socialists); the danger of yet another war at the close of WW 2; has Stalinism arisen inevitably from the Russian Revolution? No, Trotskyism is Bolshevism; the pro-capitalist nature of social-democracy

(From a Montreal correspondence file)

Feb. 11, 1945; 625 Queen St. West, Toronto, Ontario

Dear Friends:

There has apparently been some confusion regarding the name of the paper and some other details of its publication. This is undoubtedly the result of the shift in editors. I believe we should tackle this problem first. As the editorial committee is but a sub-committee of the NC (National Committee –ed.) and our decisions will have to be ratified by them we must work fast. As I understand I the name the ed. bd. is agreed on is Labour Challenge. The rest of the details, size, type and place of publication and how the ed. bd. will function are also I believe subject to no misunderstandings. There is still one important detail not yet settled. That is whose name will appear as editor. It is important to be prepared for all eventualities even prohibition or banning of the paper. If this happens we don't want to lose our editor and N. sec. (National Secretary – ed.) at one blow. Therefore I suggest that Dick (Whiteside –ed) who is willing to act as our front be considered for this dubious honour. Unless you can suggest some other arrangement I will immediately write to all N. C. members summing up everything so far agreed upon and asking their ok.

I am in agreement with your suggestion that JH of Ottawa be asked to write a column. We might entitle it From Parliament Hill or the Ottawa Gas House at Work. You should write the other column. I believe the suggestion on the division of labour a good one in fact I don't see how we handle it any other way seeing that the paper will probab1y be printed in Montreal. Jean should send me the price estimates as soon as possible.

Of course our financial resources are still small and growing but slowly. To-night I am getting a report of the two funds, sustaining and press. I believe that in both funds because of the self sacrificing behaviour of our former N. sec. in not drawing any wages, we must have close to $500. I think this is enough to make a start with. I will include this suggestion in my report to the NC. I don't think that then is any need to revise the quotas. Experience has shown the difficulty of raising money for a paper before it has appeared but I believe that the first few issues will clear the matter up.

Re articles:

I still like the idea of dealing with the CCF article from a point of view of a criticism of the trend to the right of the leaders and the last convention. I don't think an alternative program should be brought forward by us at this time on all points. In the first place we would not have the space to develop all the arguments in favour of cur transitional demands and that is what our alternative would be. Further, I believe it would put us too far ahead of those we wish to influence. Finally I feel perhaps more strongly than you who are working in the freer atmosphere of Quebec that at first we have to go considerably easier and speak more softly than your letters seem to indicate. As Kelly is to write this of course this is only a suggestion. If (it) is possible to get out 2 issues before the elections your idea might be better for the second issue or if the

second issue appears after the elections it might be more authoritative as an appraisal of the results of their program.

On conscription if you think it can be handled go ahead. I fully realize the seriousness of your arguments re our French Canadian contacts. It would disastrous to develop two programs or what would amount to two parties. But this question must find its proper place in our program as well as in the minds of our contacts. We are not merely another anti-conscription group.

International — I have given this article to Connors.

T. U. (trade union – ed.) I have written the coast to ask then to handle this. Of course any important news can be included.

This still leaves the article on post war unassigned perhaps you might tackle it? You and Kelly can have the final say on cuts and cartoons also the mast-head as I feel you both have had much more experience in these things. Of course you must rea1ize the decision to have the paper printed in Montreal is going to throw much if not all the technical work on you two and whoever you can co-opt to help you.

I have no list of 1abour papers, if you can get one or tell me where one can be obtained I would appreciate it. I intend asking all the groups to help in this work of compiling a list of good source material as well as a list of out of town sympathizers to whom we can send the paper.

You mention seeing me before paper goes to press. Do you contemplate coming here if so when?

Best regards to all,

RCW - Labour Papers
E4 · 1944-45 Van

Minutes of Meeting of P.C. Oct. 28th/45

Present: Comrades L.; T.B.; R.

Paper. Establishment of a B.C. mailing address for replies to general appeal letters delegated to T.B. Agreed that McDonell's might willingly serve in this capacity.

R. instructed to draft appeal letter and collection sheet. ... All checks and M.O.'s to be made payable to L.C., Toronto.

Suggest that N.O. send a covering letter and a few sub blanks to each Miner's Local in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Agreed that comrades K.; F.; and M. be assigned full responsibility for all Paper, book and literature sales and extension work in connection with these matters.

Organization:

Concentration upon Victoria agreed upon. Contacts and proppects reviewed. Prime contact agreed upon, letter to be drafted and Comrade K's signature attached, requesting contact to meet with us here.

Ed. Director. TBappointed and a uniform reading and study outline agreed upon. Director to send this to branches without delay.

PROVINCIAL ELECTION:

Discussed at length, main lessons to be drawn from it agreed upon. TB instructed to draft material and forward it for possible publishing in the next issue of the L.C.

C.P.ofC.

Announced intention of McKean to reconstitute the CPofC and the effect of this on our own work was reviewed. It was agreed that development should be watched very carefully, that every possible contact with his fraction be maintained, equal care being exercised in this matter. Has agreed to work with our caucus in the trade union field for the intial purpose of driving the bureaucrats of the LPP from the fold. Many of the old militants of the party are seeking him out and agreeing to work with him. McKean and his principal adherents maintain it is a principled break, as yet their analysis apparently deals only with effects and general causes but the root of the trouble in the old 3rd Int. escapes them. They are still essentially Stalinists. It was agreed that unless this grouping is continually crowded they would merely constitute a dangerous confusionist force. Efforts should be made to keep the principled character of their break before them to enable them to make a correct conclusion as to what has to be done and where the correct path lies. To this end, comrade R. was instructed to draft a brief item for inclusion if possible in the next issue of the L.C. Main points were agreed upon and it is to be placed before the N.O. as a suggestion for immediate action.

Agreed that a fuller meeting of the Committee be held as soon as possible to implement the instructions of the conference.

Meeting adjourned 5.45 p.m.

Undated, typed notes with changes made in RD's hand, found in 1945, written by either Murray or Ross Dowson

Subject: Canadian labor on the march

In the past six months Canadian Labour has made vast strides in cracking the boss front. Strikes flare and spread from coast to coast. The Canadian worker of the Winnipeg soviets is coming back into his own. He once more awakens to his powers with the tremendous demand for labour in the new British-American subsidized war industries after ten years of unparalleled unemployment and misery. Not only are thousands of heretofore untouched workers being organized but their oganizations at this period assumes a super class conscious significance. The workers of Arvida, St. Catherines, Hamilton, Nova Scotia, strike in the face of a violent lynch campaign carried on by the bourgeois press and most vicious anti-labor legislation. A fact which must be surprising to the American worker is that Canadian labour has no constitutional guarantees of any sort. While the American government can and does override The Bill of Rights and The Declaration of Independence etc. as in the case of the prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party the rights of Canadian labour in the strictest sense are maintained only by its day to day struggle and militancy.

Since the outbreak of war the Canadian government has put into effect several oppressive laws in an attempt to hamstring labour. One of the most important is the application of The Industrial Disputes Act to all vital services – most of the important industrial units in Canada have been declared vital services. Not only does this act compel the workers to arbitrate before taking strike action but before an industrial dispute can be established the workers must vote to strike – must vote to strike merely to apply for a conciliation board. This formality goes a long way in blocking organizational strikes and conciliation boards dawdle and delay in order to smash union influence in the plants. Delays of three or four months are common in waiting for board reports; meanwhile the bosses try company unions, scatter a few crumbs and openly discriminate. In spite of all this the Canadian workers have conducted many large and militant strikes.

The employees of National Steel Car, Hamilton, Ont., patiently went through this involved process, applying for a board of conciliation on Feb. 3rd. The board was announced on March 10th, meanwhile union members were fired. On April 19 the conciliation board issued an interim report recommending the reinstatement of the president of the union local pending a final award. Reinstatement was

refused and the workers went out on strike on April 26. On April 29 the government stepped in and appointed a controller of the business.

The Editors of The Financial Post shuddered and the Globe and Mail controlled by mining interests rallied to the defence of democracy: "Why an employer cannot even administer his own factory, only 1750 out of 2250 voting workers were behind the union-— Its a step towards state socialism. Labour is dictating to the government". With the appointment of the controller the men were reinstated and the strike called off. But the government controller refused to negotiate with the union in spite of a government Order-in-Council that employers should do so. On July 2nd the conciliation board finally reported a dead lock — "the controller advised the board he

would not enter into any negotiations or collective bargaining with any union but stated he would ask the employees to appoint a representative committee – the aroma of a company union is distinguishab1e. But the workers did not tire and the union was not smashed and they went out on strike again. The government in order to avert more trouble was compelled this month to appoint a new controller and the arbitration continues – so the powder keg is primed.

The National Steel Car strike is but one of many of the same nature in industrial Ontario and Quebec involving thousands of workers in key war industries. The St Catherines strike at McKinnon Industries, a General Motors subsidiary, however is typical of another group involving aside from the question of union recognition—wage levels. At the outbreak of war the Canadian government, to prevent sharp wage increases and insure astronomical profits even in those industries which had no fingers in the fat war orders, issued an order in council P.C. 7440 –

Wage rate levels established by agreement or practice in any industry or trade nationally or locally during the period 1926-29, or higher levels established thereafter but prior to date hereof shall he considered generally fair and reasonable etc.

St. Catherines workers are getting wages much below those that other General Motors employees are getting in Oshawa and Windsor plants and as much as 20 cents an hour less than GM's American employees

However C 7440 shows up much sharper in a dispute which took place at Peck Rolling Mi1ls Montreal this spring. These mills are owned by Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation who also controls most of the Nova Scotia Coal mines that have been paralysed for the past 5 months by slow downs of gigantic proportions. The basic rate at the Peck Mills was 30.7 cents an hour with l5 cents a day bonus. Fifty percent of the workers got 32 cents an hour or less. The basic rates in other concerns for work of the same nature and even in other plants of' the same corporation in Ontario and Nova Scotia vary from 40 to 46 cents an hour. The conciliation board found that 32 cents an hour was higher than what was paid in the same plant during 1926-29 and therefore opposed (with government sanction) any raise in wages.

On each occasion that labour finds chinks in the state's lega1 armor that enable her to continue to function and make gains, the government rushes to fill the gap with heavy steel plate. In the Peck Rolling Mill dispute the 1aw did its duty—it was 100% on the side of the bosses. But in the St. Catherines strike the workers went thro all the processes of the 1aw and still went on strike forcing 5000 workers at the Oshawa plant out of work for 1ack of materials and costing General Motors hundreds of thousands of dollars – so now we have a new order-in-council. From now on its not enough to hold a strike vote to get a conciliation board for even if a conciliation boards findings are not satisfactory you still cannot strike until a vote conducted by the government is taken by all workers involved.

Just what workers are involved is left to the decision of the Dept. of Labour. In this case it would appear that 5000 workers in Oshawa 100 miles away are involved and must vote permission to strike to 3700 St. Catherines workers. The Minister of Labor states that its purpose is to prevent one department or a small group of malcontents from tying up a whole plant. Workers who are absent from the vote automatically vote against the strike.

Any employee who takes part in an il1ega1 strike, who does not patiently find his way through this labyrinth of preventatives or anyone who incites or encourages such a strike is liable to a fine of $500 or 12 months or both. A few months ago Genera1 E1ectric workers in Toronto after attempting on several occasions to meet with the bosses went on strike. Immediately 14 shop stewards were arrested and each fined 20 dollars a day for the 7 days of the strike or 1960 dollars all together. The (international) president of their union C. Jackson was whisked away and interned for the duration as a dangerous agitator. 9000 Arvida workers escaped the same penalties only because the RCMP could pin the strike on no particular individuals. For 5 days, which was the duration at the stoppage, not a scrap of news appeared in the press about the complete shutdown of the largest aluminum plant in the world. At a Royal Commission held to investigate the stoppage the RCMP was unable to substantiate the Minister of Supply's accusations of sabotage and fifth column activity. Apparently the strike, in so far as it was organized was conducted by bona fide Canadian workers 18% of whom before the strike were members of the respectable National Catholic Syndicate of Aluminum Workers. Troops from the Valcartier military camp were rushed in because neither Premier Godbout of Quebec nor Minister of Justice Lapointe at Ottawa dared send in provincia1 or federal police for fear of alienating their constituents for such drastic action against French Canadian workers. The Minister of Defence acting under wartime powers was forced to do the dirty work. The Dominion government has since passed an order in council permitting the use of troops in event of threatened curtailment of production in war industries.

But the most important of all the illegal strikes still continues unabated. For 5 months 10,000 miners in the Nova Scotia coal fields have been conducting a slow down strike. Coal production has dropped 6000 tons daily. In one colliery daily output has been reduced from 1150 to 850 tons. Minister of Labour McLarty helplessly threatens and froths at the mouth. Government circles and the mine owners try to pass off the slow down as an internal union clash and not a wage struggle. S. Barrett International Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America signed contracts with the bosses without consultation or ratification of the membership who immediately repudiated both Barrett and the contracts. Neither the bosses or the government recognize the outlaw convention which represents the overwhelming majority of the miners. The Dominion government which subsidized in peacetime Nova Scotia coal 2 million dollars a year and considers it an essential service graciously permits Dominion Steel and Coal corp. to refuse wage increases in the face of the government figures of a rise in cost of living of over 12% and permits them to refuse lamps to slow down workers in the hope that a general strike will be called and Ottawa could step in with troops, fines, and internments. Some of the collieries on Sept. 20 called a 30 day truce on the promise of government and union officials of negotiations regarding wage increases.

The Canadian bourgeoisie can close their borders to American trade union organizers, can organize and arm their vigilantes, The Frontiersmen, can finger print the workers and compel the signing of yellow dog contracts—but all in vain. Canadian trade unions are strugg1ing on and up. From 1917 to 1919 trade union membership in Canada grew from 205,000 to 375,000. All signs today point to a similar growth in the next year. At the annual convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour (which is the amalgamation of the Canadian CIO and All Canadian Congress

of Labour) there were 50% more delegates than last year—this in spite of oppressive laws, intense patriotic appeals and union leadership betrayals. The Trades and Labour Congress even though bogged with jurisdictional disputes and a more rigid and conservative leadership has the same to report – the unorganized worker is being organized.

(break in text –ed.)

Canada in the past ten years has produced more than her fair share of blustering, bellicose anti labor bosses, but ever since the outbreak of war most of them have had the good sense and control to keep quiet and function subtly. However, last week Premier Hepburn of Ontario felt the pubic demand for another crack of his whip—elections are fearfully close and the recent Campbell soup strike at Toronto gave him an excellent opportunity to show his electors, the farmers, that he is worth his salt. Mitchell Hepburn, in case you forget; received the warm blessing of all enemies of disorder and democracy for his militant struggle in 1937 against foreign CIO agitators from the United States who were attempting to plant their insidious ideas in the minds of the good Canadian workers in General Motor's Oshawa plant. Hepburn in true Czarist fashion ordered hundreds of RCMP Cossacks to Oshawa to defend the Canadian workers. For all his protection the Oshawa workers went CI0 but Mitch earned the undying respect of the pillars of Jersey City, Sell'em Ben Smith of oil fame and the Brothers Franceschini, millionaire friends of Mussolini whom he recently got released from internment camp. For the past few years aside from his share of patriotic speeches Hepburn has been pretty quiet. When the RCMP raided the Italian Consulate at the outbreak of war and interned the millionaire Ontario road contractors Franceschini, Hepburn made a rapid trip to the States for a suddenly needed rest-cure. But as I said before Hepburn's back in harness and the elections are close by. Now don't suppose for a moment that Mitch was so petty as to interfere in the Campbell Soup strike because of his onion farm –my dear no—Campbell's don't make onion soup—they make tomato soup. Campbell's in their contracts with the farmers had the great foresight to include a strike clause permitting them to break the contracts and leave the tomatoes on the farmers hands. Now Hepburn, unlike the Canadian government that pays the Western farmer not to plant wheat, is opposed to destruction of food stuffs in war times; particularly when political capital can be made of it. After all 30 cents an hour for women 32 for boys and 45 for men is enough for any worker, and what's this talk about union recognition. Into the fray with sleeves rolled up Hepburn gallantly plunged. Immediately dozens of special RCMP officers sprang up standing shoulder to shoulder, surrounding the plant. And with a noble gesture he provided free transportation to any farmer who would come and work the plant to see that his crop does not go to waste. Free transportation not out of his pocket, not out of Campbell Soups pocket but out of the provincia1 treasury. And don't think for a moment that Campbell's expected the farmer-workers to accept 30, 32 or 45 cents an hour. They offered 34 cents to women 35 to boys and 48 to men. The couple of hundred farm workers who took advantage of the offer apparently failed to operate the intricate machinery satisfactorily arid in a couple of days the workers went back with a few of their demands tucked under their belts. Hepburn immediately scoots off to frolick with New Jersey playboys and later regretfully states in a continent wide broadcast that, "We are a democracy and its hard for the people to do anything, but the time will come when the American Legion and the Canadian war veterans will have to

deal with those who cause strikes''. Cheer up Mitch! You're doing your best, and – It ain't so hard. But there is one bright spot on Hepburn's horizon—he predicts the defeat of the USSR within a few months. On the day of Mitch's New York broadcast a buddy of his, Hon. W.L Houck, Liberal M.P.P. for Niagara Falls and Vice chairman of the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission proudly boasted that ''If Ottawa is unable to handle strikers in war industries"—(and after all they have done pretty good) – ''let the federal authorities turn them over to the Ontario government. We will handle the situation in the way it should be handled. If these men will strike, we will either have to conscript them or shoot them at sunrise'' – Ah! democracy – Down with Hitler (and the British bourgeoisie)

Reg — can you send me Tom's address

Minutes of the Poli al Committee of the RWP(Canada) January 11 1946

Present- R.M.D.P.(T returned to West Coast)
Agenda;

Political Committee
Vancouver correspondence with P.C.re finances and membership.
Report on I.S. correspondence
Montreal situation
Labor Challenge
Internal Bulletin

-Discussion on a request from the Vancouver branch that B.J. and WW be transferred from members-at- large to membership in the Vancouver branch. On the baisis of information as to the impossibility of these two comrades to function as Vancouver branch members the National secretary is instructed to inform the Vancouver comrades of the unconstirutional character of their request Article III Section 3. Branch asked if it desires to pursue the matter further to explain its motivations in greater detail.
- Vancouver branch to be asked for further information on its request for a revision of its monthly quota to the National Office.

-Motion that Comrade T.B. be removed from the P.C. as he has now taken up residence on the West Coast.passed unanimously
Motion that R.B. be co-opted to the P.C. passed unanimously
Motion that D.W. be granted leave of absence from the P.C. for a period of three months for reasons of ill health,passed unan.

-National Secretary reports that no M.C. member has yet cast his vote on the recommendation of the P.C. that henceforth Labor Challenge carry beneath its masthead statements to the effect that it is the official organ of the RWP, Canadian section of the 4th International.
Motion that the P.C. consider the failure of M.C. members to state their opinion as a sign of agreement and that we proceed with the project..passed unan.

- Motion that in view of the aid that the N.O. is about to receive in the addition of another full time functionary that we proceed with the Convention decision to send a comrade to Montreal...passed unan.
Motion that the comrade assigned this job go there on the party pay-roll to devote full time to the work for the period of one month. At the end of this time the comrade will report back to the P.C. so that a rounded discussion can be had on the possibilities of work there....and under what circumstances (a full or part time functionary) the comrade will continue to remain there.
Motion that R. Be given this assignement..passed unan. That he leave the center within two weeks time if possible...passed

- Motion that the long delayed Internal Bulletin be published if at all possible within the next few weeks while we have the added forces in the centre. That it contain along with the Convention report and the party constitution material on significance of the Toronto Election campaign, the National financial drive and a report on party activities and developments of the past period...passed

- That the dues system decided upon at the Foundation Convention be made operative in so far as [redacted] payments to the National Office are concerned and that books be set up. Up until now the dues system has been operative only on a branch scale...all funds going to the branch.

RESOLUTION ON FRENCH CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM

(Adopted by ~~Provincial~~ Political Committee June 3, 1946)

The Parti Communiste Internationale of France originally took the position that the PCI advocated boycotting the referendum on the proposed Constitution which "sanctioned capitalist exploitation."

On April 23 the Central Committee of the PCI reversed by a small majority the previous position of the party and called upon the workers to vote "Yes" in the referendum on the Constitution.

In our opinion this position is incorrect. It is impermissible, as a matter of principle, for a revolutionary socialist party to support, or to ask the working class to support, any Constitution which bases itself upon private property in the means of production. Capitalist private property, together with the national state resting on its foundations, is the main source of all the evils suffered by the masses of France: war, the loss of liberties, unemployment, the high cost of living, etc. The abolition of capitalism is the indispensable prerequisite for uprooting these evils and clearing the way for social, economic and political progress in France.

At the very time that the Anglo-American imperialists and their French satellite are preparing for World War III, the proposed Constitution upholds capitalist militarism and sanctifies in advance a new catastrophic blood-bath by the ruling class.

At the very time that the inhabitants of Indo-China are heroically fighting to throw off the yoke of French domination and the best fighters for freedom in Algeria are murdered and jailed by colonial officials, this Constitution provides for the maintenance of French Imperialist rule over all its oppressed colonies.

The text of this Constitution, drafted and adopted by the Socialist Party and Communist (Stalinist) Party majority in the Constituent Assembly, continues the treacherous policies of class collaboration by which these parties have led the French working class into its present blind alley.

For these reasons, it is our opinion that the Trotskyists of France should unequivocally oppose this capitalist constitution and any new version of the same thing.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Adopted by the Political Committee, June 3, 1946)

The ~~National~~ Political Committee hails the recent International Conference of the Fourth International. The convening of this Conference, with a larger representation than that of the 1938 Founding Conference, under the present difficult conditions, represents a signal achievement. It testifies to the virility of the parties of the Fourth International and to their continued devotion to the principles of revolutionary internationalism. It is proof of the viability of the World Party of Socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

We fully recognize the authority of this Conference and the leading bodies elected by it. Only this Conference, and the leading bodies issuing from it, have the right and the authority to speak in the name of World Trotskyism.

We express our full agreement with the general political line of the Manifesto and Theses adopted by the Conference and instruct the editors of our press to militantly present and defend this line in our publications.

We furthermore declare our complete solidarity with the Conference resolution condemning and rejecting the revisionist "Three Theses" and undertaking the reorganization of the German section on the basis of the program of the Fourth International.

Montreal KYW-James Lorimer E4 1944-5 + ML

Kelly-would be J-M Bedard 87 King St. W. Room 5
January 12 1946

(YPSL/WP, Montreal)

Dear Comrades;

We must appologize for our failure to hold up our end of the correspondence. Unfortunately we have been tied up putting the finishing touches to the twice monthly and our new headquarters. This letter marks the opening of a more regular participation on our part.

There are several questions that you raise in your mimutes which I wolud like to deal with.

1--Some time ago all groups were notified that on February 1st we were informing the American comrades to cut off all free copies of the FI and Militant that they were sending in to Canada. We felt that there was no no need of the American movement to send us this service free and at that time urged all comrades to take out subscriptions. Some comrades have done so and have sent in the funds for subs to Toronto. We have recieved 2 subs from Montreal and have turned them over to the U.S. This required double handling and purchase of money orders besides delay. We ask that all groups handle their local subs in order to save time and money. In the same letter we suggested that the groups should indepondently order bundles of the FI for newsstand sale. At one stand in Toronto 8 copies of the FL were sold this month. How have you made out with your bundles.

2--In your mimites of December 3 you made enquiries of Toronto whether any funds had come in from Montreal subscribers. There has been only one donation aside from the lump sums that came through the group. Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter from the Outremont CCYM club. The treasurer is a subsriber of the ~~XXXXX~~ of our paper. Have you any contact with this club? I dont suppose that it is necessary to urge you "guys" to investigate this terrific letter.

3--You also enquired if we had any campaign receipt forms. We had intended in Toronto to hand out receipts during the campaign but since so many different comrades were involved and some of the money was payments on pledges we decided to leave it till the end of the campaign. P.R. and Vancouver have not notified us how they operated. Individual out of town donations have been receipted and a letter of thanks sent. On Monday we are drawing up a letter with a receipt form attached--if you want any copies drop us a line.

4--I notice in your mimutes of Dec. 16 that you "discussed with Fairley his position in the group and decision of the group to give him assistance" While we dislike to interfere with decisions of the group on questions of this character we feel that what you have done is not in the best interests of your group or of the movement generally. Comrades as individuals are compelled by the acceptance of socialist ideals to aid another comrade in distress. No doubt this is the motivation of the group decision. It seems to me however that our movement can not tie itself down , as a movement, to assist comrades. We are not a communal insurance outfit but a revolutionary communist party. Where would such actions end? It is obvious that a return to the 1930's would tie up in knots a revolutionary movement that adopted this policy. With a little stretch of the imagination our party would become a mutual benefit organization and would attract all kinds of opportunists. Comrades familiar with the movement in the '30s are aware

that it never subsidized unemployed comrades; it made fewer economic demands on them but thats all. It might be well for the group to reconsider its decisions.

5--In December 3rd minutes I notice that Kelly was appointed literature agent. I have drawn the attention of one of the Montreal comrades in a personal note to this fact and suggested that Kelly should be relieved of this task. This job is going to develop into much more work than it involves at present when you commence your forums etc. According to the attendance at your meetings we appear to have an active nucleus of 8 persons. It would appear that there are other persons who could handle this work--other persons more suitable only in that they could devote more time to this task. Kelly is already overburdened by his trade union activities and posts. Can't a comrade who is more free be found for the job.

6--In a few days you will be receiving a circular letter on our press and the new tasks that the twice a month sets us.

7--We have been following the activities of the group as closely as your correspondence permits. Everyone is certainly to be congratulated on the splendid campaign that you have carried through. You certainly did an excellent job. The St Anne--Lamoreux affair was also first rate. We were also pleased to hear about your first paper distribution. These distributions are really going to put the Challenge on the map. We will have to have more of them. We are also in entire agreement with Jean's and the groups stand on the question of president of the Labor Council. What is the latest on the forums that you were discussing and the last word on the Alert Club situation.

George has been asked to return via Montreal and stop off for a while. We hope that you can arrange a membership meeting for his stay. Would you take up any knotty problems with him. We expect that he will arrive there around Tuesday.

Warmest Regards

XXXXXXXXX

January 14 1946

Dear Don (D, Windsor, Ontario),

Well by now you have received the Challenge and know all about the results of the election campaign. I am sorry that I cannot answer your request for clippings from the daily press for there just weren't any. If you read either the Star or the Telegram which 99% of the workers in Toronto do you would have never known that we were running for mayor. They completely blacked us out. Only the Globe and Mall gave us any coverage and they did so through a sort of RIGHT JAB column on City Hall affaires. About every other morning they had some wisecrack about the Trotskyists, the Marxists... of course this was very good even though they distorted and attempted to ridicule our ideas. They paid more attention to us than they did to the LPP. Both the CCF paper and the LPP Tribune never said a word about our campaign although it must have been terribly embarrassing to both of them. They must have had to answer a lot of curious workers. As the article in the Challenge says, the Stalinist and CCF delegates to the AFL Council endorsed Saunders with not one protest. The CCF controls the CCL Council which also seats many Stalinist delegates and while they did not endorse Saunders they refused to endorse us on the grounds that we had not proven we were labor...etc.

To get around this news blackout was tough and to a large extent we just were not able to do so. No doubt a great majority of workers who were fortunate enough to have a vote must have seen Murray's name for the first time when they went to mark the ballot. However we spoke over CKEY which has the largest listening public of any local station and the talks were first rate. We also distributed 20,000 copies of the leaflet that I sent you and several thousand copies of the paper. We covered the Stalinist wards and did spot distributions elsewhere. Our vote in the Stalinist wards however was no bigger than in other wards, no doubt due to their canvassers work. We have not got the breakdown of the vote yet but it is coming out next week and we expect that it will tell us that we got our vote where we did our distributions. I do not think that it is an exaggeration that the vote we got was a vote for our program. The other opponent of Saunders took the grudge votes. Our vote was for the Revolutionary Workers Party for the socialist revolution.

The campaign was an excellent experience for the Toronto branch and no doubt the publicity gained will be of great aid to the future growth of the party as a whole and for that matter the entire international.

Thanks for the clippings that you forwarded on the UAW trial. There was very little in the Toronto press. Do you think the article is ok? Incidentally you might ram those confessions in front of your brother. When I had that discussion with him one of the bones of contention was my claim that the UAW opposed every militant desire of the rank and file and tail ended the whole struggle. Here is George Burt's etc., position from his own mouth on a strike which I am sure Lyle was in complete support of.

Send us more of that stuff…and if you have the time why not sit down and see if you can work it up into a little article. Even if the results are not quite as good as the office here might turn out it will give the paper a better character...make it more of a workers paper. As you know there is

also always the danger of making errors of evaluation when you work from such limited information as we would be compelled to do. See what you can do.

Received your very welcome donation which went a long way to putting us over the top. Did not put the amount in the paper just in case some of your creditors would raise hell. Reaching the $1,500 objective was quite an achievement don't you think?

Are you going to go over to the States now or are we going to be working on our Windsor branch? What are your plans , what are you doing with all your time?? Drop us a note as soon as you can.

Warmest regards to you and Eleanor

Comradely

Ross Dowson

1946-Mar21-1

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE CANADIAN SECTION

1.Our central political task today is the building of a revolutionary communist party, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

It has long been an axiom among Leninists that a successful proletarian revolution is possible only under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, based on the principles of revo1utionary Marxism, proletarian in its composition and built as a combat party on the structure of democratic centralism. The correctness of this axiom has been confirmed time and again on an international scale. Lacking a revolutionary party the proletariat has been consistently betrayed by reformism and stalinism, with fascism and imperialist war the inevitable consequence.

Despite the great slaughter, the destruction of a large part of the means of production, in brief despite the reversion to barbarism into which decadent capitalism has plunged the human race, the proletariat is once again offered the opportunity to transform society on a socialist basis. All the material conditions are present for this transformation on an international scale. Capitalism cannot solve its deep, chronic economic and social crisis, the toiling masses – including large sections of the pauperized, bankrupt middle classes — can no longer live in the old way and are seeking for fundamental changes. Lacking only is revolutionary leadership. In 1938 comrade Trotsky wrote in the basic document of the Founding Conference of' the Fourth International: "The historical crisis of' mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership." It is the task of the parties of the Fourth International to resolve this crisis.

2. The principal obstacle to the success of the socialist revolution in Europe today is the treacherous parties of Stalinism and social democracy. In Great Britain, the Labor Party, (with the help of Wall St.) has temporarily succeeded in propping up the rapidly declining empire by means of sham nationalization at home (subsidizing the losses of the capitalists) and by means of fierce repression against the colonial peoples in revolt. In France and Italy, despite the deep-going revolutionary aspirations of the masses, the socialist and Stalinist parties are collaborating with the domestic and foreign bourgeoisie in maintaining the most decadent capitalist regimes. In Eastern Europe, despite a few bureaucratic measures of nationalization, the Stalinist bureaucracy has upheld the most decrepit system of capitalist property relationships. The parties of the Fourth International will discredit reformism and Stalinism by mobilizing the masses around its program of transitional demands, by the slogan of S. P. - C. P. governments to supplant the present coalitions with capitalist parties. In the strugg1e for this program the parties of the Fourth International can rise to the helm of the coming revolutionary upsurge of the British and European workers.

3. While there is no revolutionary situation in Canada or the United States — these two countries being the chief beneficiaries of World War II — all signs point to a deep-going social crisis. The first flush of peacetime "prosperity" will soon be fo1lowed by widespread unemployment and a devastating economic crisis. One of the consequences of the War and its aftermath has been a profound awakening among the masses. This is reflected in the great strike wave now sweeping across the United States, which transcends any other strike movement with the exception of that

of 1919 but occurs on a higher plane in its organization, its strike planning, its demands and its social consciousness; it was reflected in the Ford strike here which brought the labor movement to the threshold of a nationwide genera1 strike in response to a threat of government repression; it was reflected in the large proportion of soldier votes for the CCF in the last federal elections and the recent provincial elections; it was ref1ected in the world-wide demonstrations of the American soldiers and in the R.C.A.F. strikes, and in the wide-spread participation of veterans in the strike struggles of both countries. Never before has the situation been so favorable for the bui1ding of the Trotskyist parties in these countries.

4. As a result of their belated political development and the betrayals of the top trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists, the workers in the United States and Canada have remained attached to the capitalist parties longer than anywhere else in the capitalist world, a situation extending into the period of general capitalist decline and social crisis. Thus one of the major agitational objectives set by the American party is the campaign for independent working class political action to take the form of a labor party based on the trade unions. In the struggle within the unions for the formation of a labor party, the SWP has found a realistic approach to large sections of workers who are not yet ready to accept the revolutionary party as the political instrument of the working class: The problem of the independent political organization of the Canadian working class takes on a different form due to the existence of a large and influential reformist party, the CCF. The key to the growth of the Canadian Trotskyist movement thus depends on a correct appraisal and attitude towards the CCF.

5. The growth of the CCF as the third national party results from certain peculiar Canadian conditions which did not exist in the U.S. and, therefore, militated there against the creation of a mass reformist party. Because of the weakness of the trade union movement, the Canadian bourgeoisie was able to more or less successfully resist the demands of the labor movement for a higher standard or living and for social legislation such as the right of collective bargaining, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc. They were assisted in their reactionary stand against the labor movement by American finance capital which sought to maintain Canada as a cheap labor market.

Faced with insuperable obstacles in obtaining their most elementary demands by means of economic strugg1es important sections of the workers turned increasingly to political action which took the form of support of the CCF in elections. The CCF reached the apex of its electoral strength in the 1943 provincial elections which marked a continuation of the same process which we have noted above. War-time industrialization marched hand in hand with a mushrooming of trade union organization. The very strengthening of the unions led to increasing consciousness among the workers of the limitations imposed on their economic struggles by govermenta1 decrees freezing wages and manpower, high taxation, rising prices and the absence in genera1 of social legislation. This was reflected in the 1943 provincial elections where the CCF reached the apex of its electoral support.

6. It is important to note here the reasons for the different road of political evolution taken by the workers in the United States and in Canada. Under pressure of gigantic struggles in the basic mass production industries and the stormy rise of the CIO, the American bourgeoisie felt itself

compelled to make sweeping concessions to the trade union movement in order to divert the mass struggles from the revolutionary direction they threatened to take. The movement for an independent labor party as a vehicle for political reforms was arrested by Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies. The overwhe1ming majority of the labor movement supported Roosevelt, but because of the general distrust of the Democratic party, the bureaucrats attempted to create the appearance of "independence" through the formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League and later PAC. Thus where the strength of the trade unions in the U.S. acted for a time as a deterrent to independent political action since many reformist political gains were made without a labor party, the weakness of the trade unions in Canada gave an impulsion to the growth of the reformist CCF.

7. At the same time the weakness of the trade union movement served to determine the political direction and the character of the CCF. Although the CCL in its 1943 and 1944 conventions, proclaimed the CCF to be "the political arm of labor" and supported it in the elections, only a minority of the unions affi1iated to it, and after a brief period the movement for affiliation of the unions came to a complete stop. A number of factors account for this development:

(a) The middle class and agrarian politicians who head the CCF view the labor movement with mixed feelings – while they desire its votes in elections, as class collaborationists they despise its class strugg1e tendencies. The unreceptive attitude of the CCF top leadership towards trade union affiliation is NOT explained by their professed fears that the unions would divert the CCF from its "socialist" principles. Much closer to the truth is the instinctive fear of the CCF bureaucracy that the stormy evolution of the workers to the left would bring unbearable pressure on their timid, reformist policies.

(b) The trade union bureaucracy itself preferred electoral support to outright affiliation because of the danger of the CCF being utilized as the organizing center for the left wing.

(c) The opposition of the Stalinists (control1ing important CCF affiliates like the UAW, the IWA, the UE, and the West coast shipyard union, and partially in control of the IUMMSWA, and influential in the AFL) during the War because of their unofficia1 al1iance with the Liberals, and since the war because of the anti-Soviet orientation of the CCF leadership.

Where a powerful influx into the unions combined with a pronounced movement to the 1eft would have brushed all these obstacles out of the road, they became, under the circumstances, the deterrents to the organization of the CCF as a genuine labor party based on the unions.

8. Despite the electoral support of the CCL and the affiliation of a few unions, the CCF has remained predominantly an agrarian-social democratic party with its primary base in the prairie radicalism of the western farmers. With the possible exception of British Columbia, where a militant labor tradition has colored the development of the CCF, its membership in the major industrial cities of the east is primarily middle class with a small sprinkling of highly skilled workers.

9. Since its defeat in the federal and provincial elections in 1945, the CCF in Ontario has undergone a drastic decline. The present situation is one of sharp organizational crisis. Attendance at the 1945 provincial convention dropped almost 50 percent from the previous year. Most of the clubs have ceased to function at all. Those still in existence live a completely stagnant life, disinterested in politics, divorced from the labor movement and attended by a handfu1 of middle class elements, careerists and would-be parliamentarians.

In this important province the CCF has been unable to issue a weekly paper; its present twice monthly, ref1ecting only in the remotest way the realities of political life and the class struggle, is in a serious financial crisis and save for the membership fees which subsidize it, it would probably cease to exist entirely.

10. In Quebec the CCF is practically non-existent. It consists of a handful of petty bourgeois elements among the English-speaking and Jewish population of Montreal and a few French-Canadian careerists and trade union bureaucrats. It has no roots or fol1owing whatever among the French-Canadian working class. Since the discontinuation of' Canada Nouveau the CCF publishes no paper in Quebec, either in French or English. The thinly-disguised imperialist attitude of the CCF top leadership towards the national problems of the French-Canadian people iso1ates the CCF from the proletarian population. On the other hand, a hardened, reactionary bureaucracy, supported by Ottawa, refuses to permit the slightest reform in the party and meets its critics with expulsion.

11. Since the 1943 elections, the CCF has moved steadily to the right and the right wing – Coldwell, Lewis and Co. – has consolidated its position in the party. Directly confronting the issue of conscription in parliament, the CCF members betrayed their election promise of "No conscription of manpower without conscription of wealth," and after the inevitable defeat of their amendment they voted for the government motion. Their position in parliament during the War was that of the "loyal opposition."

The defeat in the Ontario 1945 elections accelerated this trend to the right. The CCF leaders were even more frightened by the "red scare" of the Gladstone Murrays and the Trestrails than the middle class whose support they so ardently seek. They attributed their defeat to "too much socialism" and consciously undertook to water down in practise the social democratic Regina Manifesto, an eclectic catch-all program combining a few Marxist ideas with pacifism, middle class liberalism and agrarian "radicalism." The statement of David Lewis — the literal embodiment of opportunism — that he was more concerned with winning an election than with reaffirmation of principles became the guiding credo of the leadership. Its policy in parliament has nothing in common with a militant defense of the workers' interests. The 'wild men' like Gillis and Mclnness have been toned down and the "constructive" elements headed by Coldwell given the lead. The CCF are on perfectly safe grounds in voting against the government now and then because even in combination with the Tories they are too weak to overthrow it.

On foreign policy the position of the CCF is indistinguishable from that of the capitalist government. Coldwell represented the Canadian bourgeoisie at San Francisco, and Knowles

represents it today at London. They support British imperialism in the far east and the Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc in Europe.

On the trade union arena their policy is thoroughly conservative. It is dictated by three primary considerations: 1. to maintain their alliance with the top CCL bureaucracy; 2. to restrain the militancy of the workers in order to avoid "alienating" middle class voters; 3. opposition to Stalinism from the right.

12. There is no organized left wing in the CCF. The recent conventions in Ontario and Quebec saw the right wing firmly in the saddle, Even the most timid centrist proposals were quickly jetissoned. All right wing leaders were re-elected to their posts. With the exception of the recent statement by Carlyle King, Pres. of the Saskatchewan CCF, against the imperialist policy of the British labor gov't., the only open opposition to the right wing has come from the Trotskyists. But wherever it has been confronted with our active opposition the 1eadship has acted with great dispatch to purge the party.

In Montreal, the right wing reacted towards an opposition, in which we participated, organized on purely organizational issues – revive the party, carry on socialist educational work, republish the French paper, participate in working class activities, etc. – by taking disciplinary action against the leaders of the opposition. Because of its heterogeneous, petty-bourgeois composition, the opposition fell apart at the first blow of the leadership and we were left to carry through the struggle alone. In Toronto our activity in the CCYM has already provoked a public attack and warning against us in the CCF News. Meanwhile rumors of expulsions are flying thick and fast through the party. In Montreal one of our comrades has been expe1led for opposing Lamoureux's strike-breaking action in the textile strike. Although his club, likewise a small petty-bourgeois group, supported his statement against Lamoureux, they quickly retreated under threat of disciplinary action. Even in B.C., the left wing consists almost entirely of Trotskyists.

13. What are the perspectives for the CCF? Its transformation into a revolutionary socialist party is virtually excluded. The right wing bureaucracy is solidly entrenched in the party, and it already disposes of substantial privileges: seats in the federal and provincial parliaments, control of' the apparatus of one of the provinces, close ties with the trade union bureaucracy, etc. Moreover the 1eadership finds a solid base of support among the farmer elements in the prairie provinces and the middle class composition of the party in the cities. Only a successful proletarian revolution in one of the major European countries could produce such a transformation in the same way that many socialist parties were won over in their majority by the Communists in the splits of 1919 two years after the October Revolution.

Will the CCF succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the trade unions? While it is not possible to answer this question conclusively, certain trends can be outlined. After a period of inconclusive struggles for wage increases (and facing) the rising cost of 1iving and growing unemployment, the workers will turn their attention increasingly towards political solutions. Under such conditions the pressure in the ranks can be strong enough to compel the affiliation of the unions despite the opposition of the Stalinists and the hostility of the CCF

bureaucrats. On the other hand, such a development appears out of the question in the next period. Entering a period of economic struggles, the workers will not find in the CCF a party to attract their allegiance. Its middle class composition, its essential "neutrality" in the class struggle, its alliance with the trade union bureaucracy and the right wing position into which it is forced as a result of the pseudo-left turn of the Stalinists — these factors will combine to repel rather than attract the militant trade unionists.

However, it would be a fatal error to conclude, therefore, that the CCF has already passed the peak of its strength. Unless the revolutionary party develops in sufficient numbers and influence in the next period, a new upsurge, a new awakening of political consciousness among the masses can produce a revival of the CCF and its growth into a mass reformist party. It is not decisive for the CCF to radically change its program and its mode of operation to experience this revival. The masses will flock to it not because of its program but despite its program, not because of what it is in reality — a reformist prop of capitalism – but because of what it appears to be — a party of socialism. We have already seen how the British Labor Party mushroomed overnight in the last elections into the mass party of the British workers although its program, its actions and even it's public pronouncements were far to the right of the moods and consciousness of the rank and file worker.

The opportunity can present itself to the CCF because it is already an established national party, representing 16% of the electorate, the third largest party in parliament, the government in one province, with an electoral apparatus, etc. This substantial position will tend to favor its growth in a period of rising political struggles. While a mass growth of the parties of the Fourth International in Great Britain or on the continent can alter this perspective, at the present time we must consider a new revival of the CCF in the next few years as the most likely variant.

14. However, it must be understood that our basic political position towards the CCF does not vary in proportion to the growth or decline of the latter organization. Our position is determined by fundamenta1 programmatic considerations. As a reformist party, the CCF — like all social democratic parties on a world scale — is an agency of the "democratic" bourgeoisie within the camp of the pro1etariat. Its principa1 task is to save capitalism from the proletarian revolution. Coldwell states this openly in his book, Left Turn Canada: "...it is impossible not to view with grave misgivings the future of Canada in a world in which revo1utionary forces wi11 be set loose in post-war years. The impact of unemp1oyment and depression after a comparative1y short period may destroy the very basis of our society...". Moreover, in the period of the death agony of capitalism, where capitalism is unable to grant the smallest concessions and major struggles must be fought to maintain a low standard of living, the reformist parties act as brake and an obstacle even in the strugg1e for reforms.

15. Our basic strategy towards the CCF is determined by our fundamenta1 programmatic position. This strategy can only be one of irreconcilable warfare against the CCF. The CCF must be regarded as a dangerous rival to the revolutionary party. Its influence in the labor movement must (be broken) and its working class fo1lowing won over to the revolutionary party. In essence our strategy towards the reformist CCF does not differ from our strategy to the Sta1inist LPP, which likewise is basica1ly reformist although its privileges derive primarily from the Soviet

bureaucracy rather than the trade union and par1iamentary bureaucracy at home as is the case with the CCF. We repeat: unless the revo1utIonry Marxist party triumphs over reformism and Sta1nism in the working c1ass movement, not only is the victory of the proletarian revolution excluded but the advent of fascism and a third world war is inevitable.

16. How shal1 the revolutionary party triumph over reformism? This is a question of tactics flowing from our basic strategical line. These tactics are determined by the objective conditions of the class strugg1e, the relationship of forces between the revolutionary and the reformist parties, by the internal situation in the reformist party.

Thus in the revolutionary situation that followed World War One in Europe the Communists deliberately split the socia1 democratic parties, formed the communist parties and the Communist Internationa1 and conducted open warfare against the social democracy, the main obstacle to the proletarian revolution.

Three years later, when the bourgeoisie was successful in stemming the revolutionary tide with the aid of the social democracy, thus permitting the latter to recoup some of its influence in the labor movement, the Comintern at its Fourth Congress in 1922 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky veered its course to the tactic of the united front. The tactic of the united front was designed to prove to the social democratic workers in the strug1e for their immediate interests the treachery of their 1eadership.

In 1935 Comrade Trotsky proposed the tactic that is now popularly known as the “French Turn” to the international Trotskyist movement. This tactic called for an entry en bloc of the Trotskyists into the social democratic organizations. It was predicated on the weakness of the Trotskyist groups, on their isolation from the mass movement, on the defensive nature of the workers’ struggles against fascism, and above all on the revolutionary trends among the socialist youth and the formation of left and centrist wings within the socialist parties. Our task was to win over the youth and the left wing for our ideas and together with them form the new revolutionary party. In France, Belgium and the United States we made important progress as a result of the entry tactic.

The split did not wait until we had completely exhausted all our opportunities in the socialist parties, won over the last possible recruit to our program. It occurred as a result of the sharpening class struggle which was reflected in the internal conflict between the Trotskyists and Leon Blum and Co. Comrade Trotsky warned that the social democratic traitors were preparing to betray the masses through their peoples front policies, to dam up their revolutionary struggles and to sacrifice the masses on the altar of imperialist war. In such a situation it was imperative that the Trotskyists free their hands from the clamps of socialist party legality in order to speak openly to the masses, to denounce the betrayal of the social democracy and to show the workers the alternative, both the program and the party of the Fourth International. It was no accident that simultaneously the social democratic leaders were preparing to purge the party of the Trotskyists. Before they could perpetrate their betrayal they had to rid themselves of their most disarming critics. Trotsky’s warning proved by no means premature.

The close of the Second World War witnessed a great numerical strengthening of the social democratic and Stalinist parties in Europe. On the other hand the parties of the Fourth International are small and weak. On this basis Felix Morrow proposed a new "French Turn" – entry into the social democracy – to the European Parties. In its reply to him (Internal Bulletin SWP Vol. VIII, No 2) the European Secretariat correctly declares that: "A total 'entrist' policy with respect to Social Democracy is at the present hour equivalent to sure political suicide."

It points out that contrary to the ebbing tide in the labor movement after the victory of fascism in Germany, we are now living in a "revolutionary epoch." As a result of the disappearance of the traditional Democratic bourgeois parties, the social democracy has become overwhelmingly petty bourgeois in its composition, the internal regime has been hardened in favor of the bureaucracy with less room for democratic expression, the workers are becoming discontented with the party and leaving its ranks. It is, therefore, vital, the E.S. states, that the revolutionary party functions independently and becomes a po1arizing force for all the elements detaching themselves from the old parties. Otherwise, it points to the danger that the discontented workers will drop back into apathy and disillusionment. Only on this basis, they say, will it be possible to conduct "effective faction work within the reformist organizations." This does not mean, however, that our European comrades are delivering an ultimatum to the workers: "follow us, or else!" Since the great bulk of the workers follow the S.P. and the C.P. the principa1 slogan of our European comrades is "for an S.P.- C.P. government." This tactic helps them to penetrate the opponent parties and to expose the treacherous character of social democracy and Stalinism to their working class membership.

The successes of our comrades in France in piling up a considerable vote – 11,000 – in the recent elections in France although the party was still only semi-legal, and the successful meetings attracting sizable numbers of workers indicates the correctness of the evaluation of the European Secretariat.

17. The perspectives of the Canadian Trotskyists and their attitude towards the CCF was laid down in the "Resolution on the tasks and perspectives of the Canadian movement" adopted unanimously at the Montreal Conference in Oct. 1944.

"The CCF with its social patriotic, reformist program and middle class leadership represents not the old style reformist organization based on a more or less stable class relationship but a stage in the dynamic political deve1opment of the Canadian masses in the period of capitalist decline and crisis. The struggle of the workers will bring them into sharp conflict with the present program and leadership of the CCF which makes a left wing development inevitable. We must do all in our power to facilitate this development and concentrate on the recruiting of the politically advanced elements to our organization."

It is clear from this paragraph that the tactic adopted at the Montreal Conference was not that of total entry in the manner of the French Turn but rather one of concentrated fraction work in the CCF. This position was expressed with the general agreement of the conference by the representative of the I.S. Furthermore, it is corroborated by the final paragraph which clearly

points to the necessity of developing an independent organization although it takes cognizance of the difficulties created by the then existing war-time conditions.

"Under conditions of illegality, our organization must find a bridge to the Canadian masses through its independent activity and the persistent work of its members in the existing organizations of the Canadian workers, economic and political, by advancing its program, including the transitional demands in realistic fashion. In these organizations are many workers who either have political experience or are ripe for revolutionary ideas. Our first task is to win them to our program and organization so that we can realize in the shortest possible time the formation of the Canadian section of the Fourth International."

18. What has happened in the 15 months since the adoption of the resolution? The prediction of a struggle between the workers and the leadership and the development of a left wing has not been borne out, although that does not rule it out for the future as we have indicated above. The CCF not only has not attracted new layers of workers but most of the proletarian e1ements within it have voted against its policies with their feet. Far from a left wing developing, the right wing has tightened its controls and is sharpening its attacks against us. The CCF is not remotely connected with the class struggle, its internal life is characterized by political sterility and a petty-bourgeois atmosphere. Therefore, to continue our main concentration as in the past on fraction work in the CCF to the complete exclusion of all independent activity would condemn us to stagnation and impotence.

19. The pressing necessity for concentrating our energies on building the independent party of the Fourth International becomes more urgent in view of the pseudo-left turn of the Stalinists. In the absence of an independent revolutionary party, the Stalinists, by their display of militancy, their participation in the workers struggles, their "revolutionary' phraseology have become the solo polarizing force for the awakening and radicalized workers. On the other hand, dissident elements leaving the Stalinist ranks – the McKean group was only one instance in many, excluding the completely demoralized elements — do not turn in our direction either because they do not know of our existence since we have no independent organization or because they do not consider the CCF an attractive alternative to the LPP. The same applies to workers who leave the CCF in disgust with its petty bourgeois end opportunist policies.

Without an independent organization we are likewise handicapped in the trade unions in the struggle against Stalinist policies. This leaves the workers no alternative but the policies of the trade union bureaucracy – Mosher, Millard, Conroy and Co. – who fight the Stalinists from the right. To combat Stalinism in the unions, which in some cases requires a united front with them, means the building of a left wing in the unions against the bureaucracy and thereby entails a struggle with the top CCF leadership. The militant workers in the unions will be attracted to a genuine left wing policy promulgated by us but never to the CCF policy, which combines an alliance with the CCL bureaucracy with a scolding of the workers for not having voted CCF in the last election.

20. The foremost task before the Canadian movement is the building of Trotskyist cadres. Our work in the CCF, with the possible exception of the west coast, has yielded at best only a handful of recruits, scarcely commensurate with our opportunities in the labor movement generally. This was partially due to lack of forces, partly to the lack of sufficient energy, partly to errors, but in the main we must attribute these meager results to the middle class character of the CCF and its isolation from the struggles of the workers.

Under our own independent banner we will not be circumscribed by the limitations of the CCF, but we will be able to attract the most militant and advanced elements in the unions, among the veterans and the youth who are not affiliated to any political organization. At the same time, we will become a polarizing force for dissident elements in and around the LPP, as well as for discontented groups in the CCF or on its fringe.

The turn towards independent existence signifies a change from our present policy, which has been a continuation of the policy imposed upon us by war-time conditions of legality, of concentrating cur main activity on fraction work in the CCF. It signifies concentration on independent propaganda, work in the unions and direct recruitment to our party.

21. Concentration on the building of our own party does not mean that we turn our backs on the CCF. We do not contemplate a complete withdrawal from the CCF, but rather a more effective utilization of our forces. Where fruitful work is being done in CCF clubs at present, this work should be continued and intensified. Wherever favorable opportunities present themselves in certain localities and clubs in the CCF we will attempt to build a left wing faction on the basis of our transitional program. Under certain conditions, where we have the necessary forces, we may endeavor to build CCF clubs under our direct influence and leadership. Politically, we will continue our position of giving critical support to CCF candidates in elections and of advocating a CCF government for Canada on the basis of our transitional program. This tactic does not exclude, of course, participation in elections with our own candidates in those cases where we have adequate forces and where our action does not split the vote in favor of the capitalist parties.

Our firm, unalterable principled position towards the reformist CCF must be supplemented by flexible tactics changing in accordance with the changing objective situation and the relationship of forces. Thus under certain conditions a revival of the French Turn might be necessary while under others a campaign for direct affiliation of our tendency as a party to the CCF may be indicated.

For the next period, however, our energies must be devoted to the building of the independent party of the Fourth International in Canada, sinking its influence in the unions, rooting itself in the working class. In this way, we shall be in a much better position to influence the development of any left wing tendency that may arise in the CCF in the future. A strong Trotskyist organization is the prerequisite for effective faction work in opponent organizations. A strong Trotskyist organization, active in the class struggle and disposing of sufficient cadres to enable it to maneuver, can be a powerfu1 lever in giving guidance to and influencing the

discontented worker membership in their struggles with the right wing bureaucracy of a mass reformist party.

The opportunities for the Fourth International in Canada, as throughout the world, were never brighter. To take advantage of them, the organizational vehicle, the independent Trotskyist party, must be built without delay.

Adopted unanimously by the

Political Committee of the

Canadian Section……..

Feb. 21 1946

March 22nd, 1946.

Dear Comrades:

Enclosed you will find a document on the financial crisis which now faces us. It deals at great length with our present position and suggests solutions to our problem.

The $175.85 deficit based on the newly proposed format for L.C. can be easily taken up by the comrades and enable us to continue publication of the twice monthly, and expand our other activities. We are sure that all comrades realize the importance of continuing the twice monthly and will rally to its aid.

As to ways and means: There are comrades in the Montreal group who can substantially raise their present pledge. Kelly has already assured us of a very substantial increase.

All comrades must now realize the necessity of cutting off the subsidy that is at present going to Comrade Al. The security of our press and movement depends upon the diverting of this sum to the national organization.

We have recently made new contacts in the Montreal district who should be approached to support our press and if possible monthly pledges obtained from them. A few socials could be arranged which would not only serve the purpose of bringing sympathizers closer to us but raise substantial sums of money. However, these are only subsidiary methods of raising the necessary funds. The bulk of the increase at this period and possibly for some period to come must come from the sacrifice of our own comrades.

The determining factor We can go back to a monthly or even possibly to a mimegraphed sheet. [redacted] will be the response that the comrades give this urgent appeal.

Let us hear from you immediately.

Revolutionary greetings,

National Secretary.

April 29 1946

Ken Sutherland

Dear Louis; (?)

It was very good to meet Alice and Mark when they were in town if only for a short time. In conversation with them we discussed some of the groups problems and suggested a few ideas which I think will be of use to the group. Some of them might be taken up at the next meeting.

I told Alice we would send along in the next mail a complete list of Montreal subscribers. Well here it is. We were talking over your first attempts to hold a study class. I understand it was pretty much of a flop due to Bill's inexperience. Well I guess that is how we learn. All I want to be assured of is that we will not let this prevent us from going on with the project. It is no easy job for a comrade to give a class for the first time, particularly when he has never attended any himself and watched the technique of others. Perhaps it would have been best to let Ken take the first one or two then Bill and you take a shot at it . [illegible]. Let us plan the course of lectures. I am of the opinion that they should be on the elements of Marxism. Such a course would not only be of interest to outsiders but would prove invalueable to our own comrades. There are outlines [illegible] available. I sent some study class material to Bill some time ago. I think t[illegible] that they are probably O.K. If not the American comrades have courses which you can write for. One in particular is tops--A.B.C. of Marxism. These guides are so detailed that the work involved in giving a class is very little...each lecture stands by itself and there are references to supplementary reading material. Well [illegible] here is the list of Montreal subscribers. Let's arrange for the subject, the speakers, and then have a letter mimeographed for a couple of bucks, and cover the mailing list.

One factor the group should consider is the possibility of taking our meetings and study classes out of the comrades homes. The headquarters was the making of the Toronto group. House meetings lack the formality and dicipline that party meetings should have. To a certain extent Montreal suffers from this disease of casual and informal meetings more than anyone else because of a combination of several circumstances. One of course is the nature of the group, the fact that they all know one another intimately and see one another on several occassions through the week. Another factor is that they are not involved in any political work that presses them to rely on one another and get political direction from the movement. Anyway I think it would be a good step to discuss the possibility of breaking away from house meetings. Perhaps it is not yet possible to get a permanent headquarters but could we rent a room for meetings. We will probably be pressed into getting a place other than a comrades home when we get this study class going.

Did Alice discuss with the group the suggestion that they hold some socials. I told Alice how successful we were with them. Not only does it give a comrade the opportunity to introduce contacts to our movement but they are great sources of income. At our last three socials we have raised approximately $17, 30 and $20 respectively. We also do a hell of a lot of good contact work. And last but not least it provides the party with a good social atmosphere---everyone gets together and has a good time.

The money of course is derived from the sale of drinks. We also raffle off revolutionary literature and take a collection for Labor Challenge. We have got a few people down to the forums from them. Incidentaly we have just mimeographed some song sheets for a sing song at the socials. I will send some copies down when we get the second sheet pulled off. With your contacts you should really pull in the dough.

I sent a letter to Bill along with the bundles of the May Day issue of the paper suggesting that the group should make a special attempt to do some paperdistribution on May Day at any Stalinist or trade union meeting. You know this distribution work is really puting us on the map. It is going to take a little while to make ourselves known again after so many years of dormancy. But we have to let workers know that we exist. I looked through the Tribune and could find no announcement of a May Day meeting. Can we cover the CCL or TLC council meetings? We have had some very good distributions here lately. A comrade sold two subs at a rubber workers meeting. A fellow came down to the office the other day and bought a couple of dollars worth of literature after he had picked up the paper at a Tim Buck meeting.

We received the $20 that Jean sent in for Expenses of George's trip. How is the situation otherwise? It appears that Alice was in Toronto when your comrades doubled the pledge. She gave me 55 on the 14th and in the flurry of here very short visit I forgot to tell her about the boost. Perhaps you had better give her some help to get the money together or maybe it is only necessary to jog her memory to have her send it in.

I am sending in the mail under apparate cover 4 copies of L'Avant-garde and several copies of La Lutte Ouvriere. Will the group take up the matter of increasing the circulation of these papers. ~~XXXX~~ It will help fill up the gap till we can get a paper in French of our own. Will you order direct?

What has happened to that French chap that Jean once mentioned he was bringing into the party. Are we making any headway with contacts that Jean turns up. I have heard nothing lately ~~XXXXX~~ about this fellow although I understand he is excellent material. ~~XXX~~ One fellow like this who has contacts can change the whole character of the group overnight. I cant help but feel sometimes that some of the comrades are a bit squeemish about bringing a worker into our group because of its character. Nothing ventured nothing gained. I am not sure just who this chap Bostic is that Carr refers to. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Murray never heared of him either. Have we ~~XXX~~ had a call from his group?

I am still writing this note on May 3rd and in the meantime we have received a check from Alice for $5.00. I am enclosing the receipt for her. Bill has dropped a line on the May Day distribution that I suggested the group carry out. He tells me that the Stalinists had a meeting of over 300. ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ It is very unfortunate that we did not carry out a distribution. The IPP is pretty shaky these days. ~~XXXXXrX~~ we handed out the paper at a Tim Buck meeting a few weeks ago and caused quite a bit of interest. Back instead of the old slanders called us ultr-leftists, idealists, and our program unrealistic. A chap who picked up the paper came down to the headquarters the next day and bought a couple of dollars of literature. Bill tells me that some of the comrades were out of town, some busy, etc. I don't know what this some busy etc means but could you jack them up a lettle so we can cover the next IPP affair and the odd factory gate.

LP1

I would like to say a few words concerning a portion of your last letter. The question of Alexander's suspension has naturaly to come before the comrades. George is not empowered to make any arrangemnets with Ken Alexander. This atricle was seen by comrades in Toronto and elsewhere. It was necessary not only to take action but to let it be known to the comrades what the course of action was. A national committee member can not be suspended without at least the knowledge of the national organization. It was the decision of the national committee that this document be circulated to the groups and qite correctly so. What have we to hide. To hide such action is in a sense to cover the crime and to allow a very dangerous precedent. It might embarass Ken. Good. Although this is not it purpose I hope that the effect of this document will be such that Ken will buck up and play the role in the group which he should and I know he can. It was good strategy to leave it till the meeting following the report on the financial situation. But the Montreal comrades must know how seriously the organization considers such tripe that he has been writing and that it will not be tolerated in our movement.

On the Montreal motion that "the group registers disapproval of manner in which this deficit was allowed to develop whithout branches having knowledge of its urgency. We cannot help but plead guilty....it is almost inexcusable. We of course were unaware of the real situation until only a short while ago. The responsibility must be thrown on our very inefficient administrative apparatus. Unfortunatley due to lack of forces we had a very poor administrative set-up. Everything was tied up in one persons hands and this comrade was already immersed in work. In the last 2 or 3 months we have managed to sort out and redistribute the work among other comrades and we hope that shortly we will be able to operate on an even more efficient basis. You will have to be a little patient with us till we get in the groove. We are carrying on a big job for a small group. We are already getting results.... we have taken in 6 new comradesoin the past two months and soon we should BE have an efficient staff.

Sorry to see the branch loose Ronny. Bill informs me he will be on his way around the middle of this month. This will no doubt hurt the group temporarily. However if we could get working on Jean to get Paddy or Angus Macphee down there on the OCL payroll everything would work out swell. I intend to write him another note and try to get some action from him. Could you speak to him . Either of these comrades would be the making of the Montreal group and a great aid to Jean.

I wont say anything about the sub campaign as the director tells me a letter has gone out on it. We are anxious to see how you make out. Our new comrades are setting the pace in Toronto. I hope to MX be able to drop in on you comrades within the next month or so.

Comradely yours

Ross

1946-May

”MAY DAY, 1946” (transcribed from Ross Dowson’s speech notes)

Tonight the friends of Labor Challenge are celebrating May Day, the 60th anniversary to those who have only developed a political consciousness in the past six years – May Day is of little consequence – (it) appears to have no special significance.

For the entire span of the War, May Day was not celebrated on any large scale. Those who did celebrate it other than the Trotskyists denied its most elementary aspects. For May Day is a day dedicated to struggle against capitalism -- dedicated to the international solidarity of the world working class.

Only the Trotskyists retained the right and privilege to celebrate this day during the war years, for only the Trotskyists remained true to the principles of internationalism – in their revolutionary opposition to war. The LPP and CCF tied the workers to the boss war machine and to the slaughter of their fellow workers.

I might also add for those who are unacquainted with May Day, that we are not celebrating it in the style we would prefer. We would prefer to celebrate it in the street, in its traditional manner, by militant working class action. May Day 1946 however does not permit us to do so. Nor are we celebrating it in the numbers we would desire. Unfortunately one of the freedoms of bourgeois democracy – freedom of assembly – for us does not ring true. (We have been) unable to get a hall. No hall, no publicity. Despite all these shortcomings, despite our small numbers today and despite our method of celebration, May Day remains for all this a day hated and feared by the bosses. To those who recall the mass demonstrations of ‘37, ‘38 and ‘39, this small meeting must form quite a contrast.

For it has been and is becoming again a day of militant class action by the workers – a day of international working class solidarity. Over the generations May Day has been the International Workers Day, the day when the gains of the past have been recorded, when the solidarity of world labor has been demonstrated and its aspirations for the future proclaimed.

Bosses hate and fear it and in times of war and reaction have sought to ban its celebration. When the workers have celebrated it in defiance of the bosses, they have had police and gunmen hurled against them to prevent their great demonstrations. Not only do the bosses fear it, but their labor lieutenants and agents within their ranks tremble and attempt to divert its struggle along peaceful paths, and replace it with the legalized holiday in September, Labor Day.

Labor Day will never replace May Day. Labor Day passed in the US and Canada by the boss governments in l894 remains a bosses labor day. It bears all the earmarks of its legalization by the governments. May Day will never be legalized by the bosses -- it will be legalized only by the success of the workers and oppressed of the world in throwing the capitalist yoke off their backs.

Bosses in their fear and hatred have tried to destroy it by violence and replace it by Labor Day. They have also tried to prejudice uninformed workers by representing it as foreign... The

origin was the struggle of American workers for the 8-hour day and better working conditions. It arose as the climax of a long fight of the American workers for a shorter work day, at first for a 10-hour day when thousands were working 12 and 15 hours. The struggle for a shorter work day developed with the organization of the first trade union in the world, in Philadelphia by mechanics in 1827.

The industrial crisis of 1880 spurred the workers on. A million men unemployed, wages slashed, 12-hour days stretched to 14 and 16 hours. In rebellion against their conditions, the workers in the US and Canada organized rapidly. The National Labor Union in 1866 launched a drive for the 8-hour day. Eight hour leagues were formed. In 1884, the 4th Convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the US and Canada passed a resolution setting May 1st, 1886 as a day for mass strikes for the 8-hour day, as a step, to use their exact words: “to free labor of the country from capitalist slavery.”

May 1, 1886 is a day to be remembered by the workers and a day never to be forgotten by the bosses. In every large city the workers laid down the tools and took to the streets to fight for the 8-hour day. In many cities they won it. The strike was centered in Chicago – for Chicago was the most radical city of its time. Workers had been locked out at McCormick Deering plant for two months, a lumber strike was in progress. Workers were led in many unions by militant anarchists who understood the fight for the 8-hour day as part of a bigger struggle against capitalism itself.

Police attacks on a Chicago demonstration – 80,000 paraded – were followed by a citywide lockout on May 2nd. On May 3rd, thousands of workers joined the pickets at McCormicks. They were fired upon by the police, killing four, injuring scores. On May 4th a monster protest meeting was held in Haymarket Square. When the meeting was about to adjourn, the whole police force attacked. A provocateur threw a bomb, the police opened fire. Seven police were killed, four workers also, a score injured. The bosses utilized this opportunity to attempt to smash the unions and the struggle for the 8-hour day. Hundreds were arrested. Eight anarchist leaders were declared guilty of first-degree murder and one and a half years later, four were hanged. (The anarchist) Speis, along with Parsons, Engel and Fisher, was hanged. He declared when they put the noose around his neck: “The time will come when our silence in the grave will be more eloquent than our speeches.”

This frame-up and boss murder, far from destroying the struggle only served to increase its tempo. In 1889 the AF of L set aside May 1, 1890 as another day of mass strikes. That year the European working class joined hands with their American brothers.

The Second International at its first congress issued a call to the European workers to join the struggle on May 1st against the capitalist enemy through militant strike action. That year there took place in Europe and America powerful demonstrations of international working class solidarity. The workers poured into the streets to battle for their demands against the police. May Day was baptised with the blood of the world working class.

During the next decade May Day became a day of dread for all governments and their police. Demonstrations grew larger and more political in character each year. The labor bureaucrats and the agents of the bosses in the ranks of labor tried to stifle the workers struggle and their loyalty to their May Day by numerous attempts to divert the celebration to May Sunday and to Labor Day – to turn it into a festival, a picnic with parades and tournaments. But workers want it to remain a mass demonstration of political social and economic solidarity of the workers of the world.

May Day remained the Workers Day despite these attempts to destroy it. After the outbreak of World War I, the (social-democratic) leadership of the workers succeeded in averting a May Day strike – they were joined by the labor bureaucrats and (social-democratic) parties throughout the world, and May Day seemed lost. It was not until 1916 when Karl Liebknecht rescued it and thousands rallied to his call to opposition to imperialist war in Berlin. In Germany 1917, workers once again took to the streets to protest rations and set off the naval mutinies that ended the war. That year they were joined by their comrades in France when the Committee for the Renewal of International Relations held mass demonstrations.

In 1919 (they were) joined by workers in America, where in Cleveland the mass demonstration of 50,000 led by Walter Ruthenberg was set upon by police and two men killed. May 1917 saw the workers in Russia already triumphing over Czarism, and in 1918 they were in power. May Day in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Trotsky became a day dedicated to international solidarity of world workers and struggle for socialism.

May Day in the years between World War I and World War II, despite the attempts of misleaders and renegades, remained in Canada and throughout the world, a day of working class unity against the bosses. A day of anti-capitalist struggle and international solidarity. The second imperialist war in which Stalinism and (the social democrats) led the workers, once again saw the eclipse of May Day. Coldwell and Buck tied the workers to their machines with the no-strike pledge and war labor boards in the interest of the capitalist war.

The Stalin bureaucracy, along with the destruction of many other conquests of the glorious October Revolution, has perverted May Day into a day of festival and display of military strength with no reference to its militant socialist tradition. Ilya Erhenberg, pen-prostitute of the Soviet bureaucracy and hater of the German working class, pictured May Day only as a spring festival in the tradition of early English poetry.

This May Day witnesses the signs of a rebirth of working class action. The workers are turning once again to the celebration of their day. Next May Day will witness demonstrations on a large scale. For May Day is the one day on which above all the workers demonstrate their class consciousness and their realization that there is only one road to freedom – the struggle against the bosses and the destruction of their hated economic system.

(end)

LABOR CHALLENGE

87 King St. W.,
Room 5,

Toronto 1, Ont.

May 4th, 1946.

(Jean-Marie Bédard)

Dear Jean:

I have been waiting to hear from you for over a week and a half on the question of hiring one of the West coast comrades on the C.C.L. payroll. What is new?

I believe I told you on the phone that Paddy was coming East and that he was going to urge Angus to do likewise. No doubt he is waiting to hear from me as to what the situation is now, with the C.C.L. job. This question cannot be left hanging fire much longer. These comrades cannot be expected to wait on us indefinitely.

I have been holding up my correspondence to the West Coast since I had understood you were all set to take on Angus. The objections that you suggested Vallian-court and Walsh might have to our comrades don't seem to me to be of any importance. We took those guys on to aid us not to cramp our work. Angus or Paddy stand 10 and 20 heads higher than both of them put together. Since McAuslane seems to have no objections to Angus, I can't understand the delay. The question of a French speaking organizer is not really vital since you already have two and in the immediate Montreal area an English speaking organizer is almost as good.

I am afraid we are letting a great opportunity slip by. What you need there is someone you can trust, some-one with whom you can discuss your problems and map out strategy. Well! there is no one -- except one of these comrades. I am afraid if we dilly dally much longer we are going to loose the great advantages that could have been won by your hard work. It shouldn't be long before you will be coming under fire from the bureaucrats and the Stalin-ists and you are going to be helpless because you have no machine.

(continued/

As important as the trade union situation is, there is another factor, also of great weight. A man like Angus will be the making of a Montreal branch of the party. He will be able to wring the most out of those we have already and will be invaluable in bringing more and better elements into our ranks.

I have heard nothing further on the War Labor Board vacancy. Murray & George concurred with my opinion that it would be criminal to take the vacancy left by Marquette. I meant to write you a confirming letter but a short while after we got tied up with the May Day issue of the paper. We were short George's help as he went out to Vancouver to aid the B.C. comrades at the C.C.F. convention in answer to their emergency call. What has happened on this question? Did the C.C.L. appoint someone else, did you manage to get out of it on the principled position of the class collaborationist character of the Boards? If such was the case it might be good for an article in L.C. -- Bill could get the interview.

We received the $20.00 alright and I informed Bill right away. I also got your bundle of papers. Haven't had a chance to go through them but it looks like there is some good material there. How did you like the May Day issue?

Would you drop me a line immediately on the C.C.L. organizer situation with all the details so I can inform the West Coast.

Comradely yours,

R.Dowson:jd

June 19 1946

To the Montreal Branch

Dear Comrades;

On June 2cnd the National Office sent a circular letter on the campaign for a thousand new Labor Challenge subscribers to all branches. For the Vancouver and Montreal branches this letter was an emergency communication.

The letter pointed out the failure of some branches to keep pace with the amount of time elapsing and suggested various methods that had been utilized by successful subgetters and might be used by other comrades and branches. Neither branch, Vancouver or Montreal, has yet replied to this letter with any more subscriptions.

Comrades! This is an emergency communication. In the province of Quebec, including the city of Montreal, Labor Challenge has the ridiculously small circulation of 35 paid up subscribers. This figure includes all subscribers--renewed subscriptions and subs obtained in the 25 cent subscription campaign.

LAST month in a meeting of the Montreal branch there was a discussion on the role of that branch in our movement. A justifiable criticism of the branch made by one of the comrades was its non-working class character. The fact that the branch was not only isolated from the working class but the French-Canadian working class in particular was correctly considered a great deterrent to the development of the branch. It is a healthy sign when a section of our movement can be so clearly concious of its own nature and the need to correct its character.

The first task therefore for the Montreal branch is to break out of its present isolation from the working class both English and French. There have been several suggestions made as to how this can be done. The most persistent demand has been for a French-Canadian paper. At present we have an English language paper..LABOR CHALLENGE. Everyone recognizes its limitations in the important province of Quebec. Certainly one of the perspectives of our movement is the publication of a French Labor Challenge. But in Montreal large sections of the French speaking population read the English press. Two months ago we started a national campaign for a 1000 new subs. Mindful of the character of the Montreal group and the handicap of an English paper in Montreal the National Committee recommended that their quota be only 75 subs. To date Montreal has scarcely even got started on the campaign.

One of the purposes of the special 25 cent campaign was to spread the base and influence of our movement. A branch does not require any present influence in the mass organizations at all to obtain subsriptions at this rate. This campaign gives

all branches and particularly the Montreal branch an opportunity to contact workers who are normally beyond our influence. There is no doubt that by a successfully conducted sub campaign the Montreal group could put itself in touch with many many workers who are potential party members. This would be a most effective method of breaking away from our present isolation and building a proletarian movement in French Canada.

At our present stage of development a French paper would be no solution to our problem. Who will distribute it? Who will get subs for it ? The answer is:the same persons who are today required to get subs for Labor Challenge. There is no doubt that it would be easier with a French paper but the experience of two comrades in Montreal last month proved that we can get many subs for the English L.C. Two comrades in less than ½ of an hour door to door work obtained 6 subscriptions.

The comrades at present in the Montreal branch can make the Montreal branch a proletarian branch through really getting down to work on the subscription campaign.

There is only one month left for Montreal to reach its objective of just 75 subscriptions. In Toronto where it is true the situation may be more favourable we have over 8 comrades who by themselves have obtained over 30 subs a piece. Plans must be made at once to rally the comrades together and do some concentrated canvassing. The seventy five subs can be obtained, there is still sufficient time. There is almost one month to go. Let's go.

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

1946-July

A Contibution to the Discussion. by Paul Kane ("Ross Dowson")

(Internal Bulletin Vol. 1 No. 2, July 1946)

In 1928 upon his return from the 6th Congress of the Communist International with J.P. Cannon, Maurice Spector, leading executive member of the Communist Party spoke the first words in Canada in defence of the Russian Left Opposition and the principles of revolutionary internationalism.

Spector's subsequent expulsion resulted in the formation of a small group in Toronto that called itself the Canadian Left Opposition and functioned as a branch of the American Opposition. For 4 or 5 years this handful of revolutionaries despite violent persecution from the Stalinists and the bosses carried on a pioneer work. They conducted study classes, forums and circu1ated the American Militant.

Their expulsion and the subsequent split in the Canadian Communist Party was not as extensive nor as productive of as capable a leadership as it was in the United States. While the American comrades started to branch out to form the basis of a national organization, in Canada the opposition remained confined to Toronto.

It was not until late in 1932 when the corruption of Stalinism became more obvious to the advanced workers and the group had added to its ranks Jack Macdonald former national secretary of the Communist Party that the Canadian Opposition began to grow and spread its influence.

By 1934 the group had grown considerably and began to extend its influence into the trade union field and the unemployed movement. It began to publish irregularly a press of its own. Mass meetings were held that attracted hundreds of workers and contact was made with elements in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Montreal and elsewhere. In August of that year, the decision was made to constitute the group as the Workers Party of Canada. A youth group called the Spartacus Youth League was organized about the same time.

The growth of the organization was based not on experienced revolutionists who had come through years of struggle in the Stalinized C.P. but on new recruits to Marxism. The difference in ideological maturity between the leading 2 or 3 comrades and the membership was vast and great responsibilities were thrown on the leadership. The organization was never able to respond to its new responsibilities. Without material resources it retained a paid functionary only at occasional periods. Its press The Vanguard appeared irregularly. No national tour was made by any leading comrade to consolidate the contacts gained across Canada. A national convention was never held.

The collapse of the German pro1etariat, the innumerable working class defeats on a world scale, the continuation of mass unemployment, all had a demoralizing effect on the Canadian workers. The W.P. began to feel the repercussions of these defeats. Its meetings fell off in attendance and its press circulation dropped. In the party, which still had comparatively few genuine roots in the working class, defeatism and disillusionment began to grow.

In this period of world wide reaction when the Fourth International was weak and isolated, revolutionary tendencies were developing in sections of the Social Democracy. Trotsky advocated a policy of entry into those reformist and centrist parties. This tactic become known as the French Turn. Its purpose was to put the revolutionary vanguard in contact with those left wing groupings, influence them, fuse with them and eventually reconstitute the revo1utionary party with a broadened base. In the United States the tactic of entry into the Socialist Party was carried out with considerable success.

Early in 1937 when the WP was in this state of general disorganization and demoralization, its leadership grasped upon the tactic of entry into the CCF as a solution to its problems. The B.C. comrades whose relations to the centre were at best very tenuous, had already entered the CCF. The SYL had also entered the CCYM (CCF youth) a year or so previously. The fact that the experience of the SYL proved conclusively the non-existence of a field for revolutionary activity even in the youth section, failed to deter the party leadership. After a long and bitter fight over the application of the French Turn to Canada at that time the organization by an extremely small majority voted to enter the CCF. No sooner had the decision been carried than the entire top leadership dropped out of the movement. The entry was thrown into the laps of less experienced comrades. Under those circumstances entry meant, in essence, liquidation of the movement. Its operation was further complicated by the failure of a section of its opponents to cooperate in the task.

The CCF was already in the grips of a strong and unopposed bureaucracy and our comrades were compelled to operate on completely illegal basis. It soon became obvious that there was no native left wing in the CCF. We had entered the CCF when it was rapidly moving to the right and declining in influence. A left wing appears to have developed a few years previously but it had been defeated and expelled prior to the WP entry.

Not only was the entry fruitless in so far as bringing new blood into our movement but the conditions of the entry and the sterile atmosphere in the CCF infected our own ranks. Many comrades who had supported the entry became disillusioned and dropped away. Forced to work illegally with weak and inexperienced leadership, a few comrades became acclimatized to the mellow and do good CCF milieu.

It was not until late in 1938 that the remnants of the entrists and non-entrists with the aid of the International became reconciled. Upon the advice of the International, preparations were made to wage a principled fight against the CCF leadership and reorganize an independent Canadian section. Early in 1939, after the expulsion at the remaining comrades in the Ontario CCF, the group was reconstituted as the Socialist Workers League. But before the SWL could consolidate itself and renew its national connections, the Second Imperialist war broke out.

The bourgeoisie ruthlessly attacked the labor movement. Repressive anti-labor legislation (Canada Defense Regulations) was passed and hundreds of workers were arrested. Our movement, the sole principled opposition to the war, was the first victim. The first person prosecuted under the Defence of Canada Regulations was Frank Watson. The Stalinists, at that

time proponents of the Stalin-Hitler pact, were declared illegal and their leadership was interned. No printer would handle our press.

The war hysteria had serious repercussions on our movement. Politically inexperienced and petty bourgeois through and through, the leadership became paralysed and eventually co1lapsed under the pressure of events. During the war a handful of comrades in Toronto managed to maintain connections and publish 3 or 4 issues of an illega1 mimeographed paper. In 1942 an organizational trip was made across Canada and connections were renewed with a few scattered contacts and the old centres of Montreal and Vancouver. Due to the weakness of our forces and our illegality, the groups in Vancouver, Prince Rupert and the East had turned independently of one another once more towards the CCF which provided a shelter from political repressions and limited contact with leftward moving workers.

In November 1944 a National Conference was held in Montreal with representatives from Prince Rupert, Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and the International Secretariat. There we reconsolidated our ranks and adopted unanimously a resolution; “to realize in the shortest possib1e time the formation of the Canadian section of the Fourth International.”

The Political Committee document in Internal Bulletin Volume 1 No. 1 after a searching analysis of the CCF and the general world situation concludes that the necessary conditions for the building of the revolutionary party at this period requires the open and independent existence of the Canadian section of the Fourth International. The PC does not shut its eyes to the varying opportunities that present themselves in different sections of the CCF. On the contrary, Section 21 of the document points out that “wherever fruitful work is being done in CCF clubs, at present this work should be continued and intensified.” “Under certain conditions where we have the necessary forces, we may endeavor to build CCF Clubs under our direct influence and leadership.” Nonetheless, to concentrate our main activities in fraction work in the CCF at this time would be false. We must immediately prepare to raise the banner of an independent section of the Fourth International.

The Montreal Conference was in unanimous agreement on the principled question of the need for an independent revolutionary party and set up the structure for its development. The remaining problem was the tactical question of when and how to best build the party. The G.V. (See below, Comrade `Van`-- ed.) document however reveals a principled opposition to the revolutionary party. Repeating the time worn and bankrupt arguments of the POUM, the British ILP, and the Austro-Marxists and other centrist opponents of the Fourth International, (GV claims that there is no material basis for an independent revolutionary party and that even “to continue along present patterns will have certain clear and tragic results. The worst will be isolation from the masses and discredit in the eyes of the militants and revolutionists in the mass organizations (CCF?) Accordingly there is (the) material basis only for Stalinism, Social Democracy, centrist movements and other agencies of working class betrayal.

To deny that there is a materia1 basis for an independent revolutionary party is for revolutionists to deny the character of this epoch...”an epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolution.” The Program of the Founding Congress of the Fourth International states: “The

orientation of the masses is determined first by the objective conditions of decaying capitalism and second by the treacherous politics of the old worker's organizations. Of those factors, the first of course is the decisive factor." The workers and farmers move to the parties of the 1eft under the compulsion of objective conditions. They will reject the parties of betrayal only in the process of the strugg1e.

To concede that there is only a basis for the agencies of the liberal bourgeoisie in the ranks of labor, for reformist and centrist parties, is to utterly fail to comprehend the nature of this historic period. The capitalist crisis is driving the world proletariat towards revolutionary struggle and to reject the class collaborationism and the futile parliamentarism of those parties. The objective conditions are more favourable to the building and flourishing growth of the revolutionary party than at any other time in history. One small evidence of this is the great response that Labor Challenge has met from the Canadian workers in the short period of its existence.

This crisis of world capitalism is at the same time the crisis of both Social Democracy and Stalinism. It exposed the CCF opposition to war as fake. Today in the present wage struggle the CCF is being unmasked to the most advanced Canadian workers as a barrier in their path, as the third party and last ditch defender of the capitalist order. Many workers who had been attracted to the radical traditions of the Stalinist movement have been confused and disoriented by its dizzy political twists and turns and its all out support of the 2nd World War. The complete isolation of the USSR and the increased dangers of imperialist attack will compel the Kremlin bureaucracy to enter into even more cynical deals with the imperialists and more sharply expose the Stalinist parties as its political tools. The immediate period ahead will demonstrate even more clearly to the workers that the interests of the Kremlin oligarchy and the policies of its agencies such as the Labor Progressive Party have nothing in common with the interests of the Canadian proletariat.

On a world scale the objective conditions are ripe, rotten ripe, for the growth of the revolutionary world party. The workers and the oppressed colonial peoples of the entire world have demonstrated time and time again their readiness to move along the road to power. Stalinism and Social Democracy have stemmed up and diverted their revolutionary aspirations. The crisis confronting world labor is a crisis of leadership. The crisis of worker leadership will only be solved by the 4th International. Only the 4th International has been proven in action to possess the moral and political armament to engage capitalism in mortal combat.

V's disagreements with us, however, are not just over matters of timing; whether the revolutionary party can or should be built now or whether it will be more propitious to build it at a later date. He is opposed to the very nature of the parties of the 4th International. He is opposed to our Bolshevik character.

V. revives the time worn drivel that Stalinism is the heir of Lenin, that Bolshevism begets Stalinism and thus the revolutionary party based on Bolshevik principles will lead only to Stalinism. "The revolutionary party (Bolshevik party) ultimately and quite dialectically produced bureaucratic and totalitarian reaction." Here V. finds common ground with all the enemies and renegades from Marxism, Stalinism, Social Democracy, right through to the intellectual

prostitutes of the bourgeoisie. Stalin himself answered this petty bourgeois nonsense by marking as his first victim Lenin's program and the Bolshevik party. A line of blood separates Stalinism from the Bolshevik 4th International. Stalinism and Bolshevism are not twins but antipodes. Marxists analyse the degeneration of the Bolshevik party as the product of the existing basis of the productive forces of the USSR and the isolation of the October revolution.

In dealing with this very question Trotsky wrote: "Scientific thinking demands a concrete analysis: how and why did the party degenerate? No one but the Bolsheviks themselves have up to the present given such an analysis. To do this they had no need to break with Bolshevism. On the contrary, they found in its arsenal all they needed for the clarification of its fate. They drew this conclusion; certainly Stalinism "grew out" of Bolshevism, not logically but dialectically; not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermidorian negation. It is by no means the same." Enough for V's dialectics and his petty bourgeois fears of Bolshevism.

Among the dangers that V. threatens if we "continue along present patterns," that is to build a revolutionary party are; "arbitrary and incorrect policies and tactics progressively divorced from reality", "isolation of the leadership from the rank and file," "ultra leftism" and a "duplication of third period Stalinism." Far from developing from or through the revolutionary party, the party is the only guarantee against such dangers. The revolutionary party based on democratic centralism hammers out its program and develops a leadership which is responsible to the program and the membership. In the early 20s a great wave of ultra leftism developed throughout the communist movement. A product of the immaturity of the revolutionary parties and the isolation of the communists from the proletariat, it was corrected by Lenin through the 3rd International – through the party. The party far from giving rise to sectarianism, ultra-leftism, etc., is its only antidote.

V. wails that one of the factors that prohibits us today from building the revo1utiary party is the absence of a Lenin. What a mockery of Lenin whose greatest contribution to the working class was the Bolshevik party. Here he exposes not only his entire lack of confidence in democratic centralism but also his lack of confidence that our program will develop the revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary leaders.

But there is no need to deal with this question in the abstract. The World Party of the Socialist Revolution exists in the 4th International of which we are the Canadian section. Let us deal with the concrete. The 4th International has a structure and a program. Is its program divorced from reality, ultra-leftist 3rd period Stalinist? Is its leadership isolated from its rank and file, or bureaucratic? V. evades the living movement for it is a living refutation of his position. For V. the very existence of an independent revolutionary party is a manifestation of ultra-leftism.

Comrade V. "charges" the West Coast comrades with attempting "to duplicate the structure, function and activities of another revolutionary party which operated in another part of the globe—of attempting to pattern an organization along 1917 lines." No doubt V. refers here to the Russian Bolshevik party. The Bolshevik party of 1917 had its roots in a struggle which developed in the Social Democratic movement long prior to that date in 1903. It was not created

on the spot on the eve of the revolution nor was it created even in a revolutionary period. It developed over many years in struggle against violent opposition within the SD movement. It was not the result of any preconceived ideas but a product of the circumstances and situation confronting the Russian proletariat and peasantry. The success of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the complete bankruptcy of the other parties of Social Democracy was a confirmation of Lenin's position of 1903 and the need for Bolshevik parties to lead the struggle against capitalism. Having been proven in the fires of the class struggle the structure and character of the Russian Bolshevik party was taken over in 1919 by the Communist International.

While the history of the past two decades abounds with revolutionary situations, nowhere was there the combination of this objective situation coupled with the subjective factor— the revolutionary party. Only the Bolshevik party has lead the workers to power. The wreckage of the POUM, PSOP, and all the opponents of Bolshevism (have) strewn the arena of the class struggle. The Bolshevik 4th International has alone stood the test of events. The 4th International which accepts as a whole the Thesis and Statutes of the first five years of the CI has already proven that it is the only serious opposition to world imperialism. Those who have rejected Bolshevism, have without exception rejected revolutionary struggle.

What does V. offer in the place of the revolutionary party modeled on the struggle of 1903 and the victorious revolution in 1917? What is his substitute for the revolutionary party? All he offers is the liquidation of the cadres of the party even as they now exist. If (on) the one side of the coin, the revolutionary disciplined party may appear to V. to threaten us with ultra-leftism etc., (on) the other side of the coin, Van's amorphous structureless spontaneous vanguard threatens with the dangers of opportunism. Already the lack of a disciplined party has presented us with serious manifestations of opportunism. Most notably the case of H. Archibald who considers it more important to remain in the good graces of his follow M.P.s and capitulate to the pressure of the bourgeoisie than to struggle on the basis of our program.

G.V.'s position may be summed up as (1) defeatism as to the possibi1ity of creating the revolutionary party, (2) opposition to the party on principle. To justify his position further he is compelled to conjure up a distorted picture of the CCF, to make it appear as a possible substitute or even as the revolutionary party of the working class itself. He characterizes the Regina Manifesto as "a sound revolutionary socialist statement". This document, the 1933 position of the CCF, contains no inkling of the Marxist conception of the state. It is a classical example of a reformist program. Abhorring all forms of militant class struggle it promises the Canadian people socialism by means of the ballot. It opposes confiscation of industry. True to its middle class and agrarian origin, it calls for complete socialization of finance and only limited social "ownership of industry and services." Its program is one of pacifism. It advocates world disarmament and full support to the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. Where is the revolutionary socialism in the Regina Manifesto?

The struggle of the CCF bureaucracy to wrest itself free from any programmatic commitments and its rapid move to the right makes even this program appear revolutionary. But it is only left of the most recent programmatic statements of the CCF. The most recent manifestos have been purged of even the whiff of socialism that the Regina Manifesto emitted. Where the

Regina Manifesto states “We stand resolutely against participation in imperialist wars” the 1944 Manifesto remarks that “The first duty of a CCF government will be to mobilize all the resources of Canada in support of the armed forces of the United Nations.” Where the Regina Manifesto revealed a limited feeling for class concepts and called for the elimination of a social order “in which one class dominates and exploits another,” the 1944 Manifesto calls for union management and production committees. The Regina Manifesto states the CCF will not “rest content until it has eradicated cpita1isn and put into operation the full program of socialized planning” but the 1944 Manifesto states that the CCF will socialize only those industries which “Are monopolistic in character.” The Regina Manifesto is but a memory of the distant past of the CCF and reflects in no sense the present stage of CCF development. In this sense, due to the very fact that the CCF leadership is rapidly repudiating in its swing to the right, the Regina Manifesto may be used as a weapon by the left-wing but it falls far short of a program for revolutionary socialists.

The characterization of the Regina Manifesto as a revolutionary document is obviously stupid. It is still necessary, however for revolutionists to understand the real significance of programs in reformist organizations. Program and principles have at no time hindered or restricted the actions of Social Democratic leaders. Social Democracy does not differ from Trotskyism solely on the basis of program but especially on the basis of adherence to program. CCF M.P.s have at no time been restricted by party program but in essence, in actual practice, it is they who determine party program in their speeches in the House and to the public. At the recent B.C. CCF Convention “left winger” Angus Maclnnis M.P. brazenly declared that he had never supported the foreign policy of the Regina Manifesto and arrogantly asserted that “no respectable M.P.” would stay in the movement if subject to the rank and file control advocated by the Sooke Club resolution.

The only occasion that Social Democracy shows any concern about programmatic commitments is when an opposition develops which attempts to make them adhere to past program or strugg1es for a new program. They are used as weapons to enforce disciplinary action against an opposition that may arise to their leadership, particularly the opposition of revolutionaries. We would be naive indeed if we like V. evaluated the CCF solely on its program. The bureaucratic leadership has never been committed to defend or advance party program. The history of reformism is not only one of incorrect program or even of continual revision of program. In periods of crisis Social Democracy betrays and renounces its professed program and the most elementary interests of the working class.

Nowhere in his documents does V. characterize the CCF politically except by characterizing some of its parts such as the Regina Manifesto. However on two or three occasions he likens the CCF to the pre-October Soviets erected by the Russian workers, peasants, and soldiers in 1917. If this characterization were accurate it would not only be stupid but criminal to be standing on the outside. This ignorant attempt to embellish the CCF collapses completely under the slightest scrutiny. The pre-October Soviets encompassed the great masses of the oppressed workers and peasants. Born in the great revolutionary upsurge that swept through Russia for a second time, they were organs of the struggle for power. The Soviets were united front movements embracing

all the organizations of the masses including the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks, and the Social Revolutionaries, etc. Does the CCF have any of these characteristics?

The pre-October Soviets were instruments of revolutionary struggle and were the products of the revolutionary situation that developed in the weakest link in the capitalist chain.... Russia. Are we in a period of pre-October in Canada or even in B.C.? At one and the same time V. claims that to build a revolutionary party is utopian, and that we already have in existence the pre-October Soviets. If such organs of struggle were already in existence in Canada we would be required to immediately re-evaluate our analysis of the Canadian scene and our perspectives. If in B.C. the CCF amounts to the pre-October Soviets and in the great industrial East the CCF carries on a most feeble existence what, we must ask, is the cause of this amazing example of uneven development. We will search V.'s documents in vain for the answer.

What is the CCF? Has it any similarity to the pre-October soviets? The CCF is not a united front organization of struggle but a political party of reform of capitalism. The CCF is not even a labor party. Frightened by the class struggle tendencies of the trade unions the CCF middle class politicians hold them off at arms length and attempt only to coral their vote. While it is true that the CCF has the endorsation of the CCL it remains a middle class agrarian party with its base in the Prairies. In industrial Quebec it is a mere shadow with little influence in the Anglo-Canadian population of Montreal and no support among the French-Canadian working class. In industrial Ontario where it likewise has no MPs it is primarily middle class and has suffered a serious decline since the 1945 elections. Even in BC its trade union affiliates are exceptionally weak. Composed basically of petty bourgeois elements the CCF limits its operations to the parliamentary field and enters the worker's battles only under the greatest pressure and with the greatest timorousness.

How "unique" is CCF democracy which V. claims is its "great source of power"? A casual glance at the proceedings of the BC - CCF Convention explodes his democratic myth. Discussion was limited to 2 minutes per speaker. Some of the most important questions never reached the floor, having been shelved for the new excecutive. There was no minority reporter on the Resolutions committee although the minority counted at times 40% of the convention. The minority got no representation on the Provincial executive committee. The Sooke club resolution demanding that "no individual or elected group of individuals" be permitted to commit the CCF on policy without the consent of rank and file bodies of the party brought the wrath of the whole leadership on its head. It was then that Maclnnis screamed that "no respectab1e MP" would stay in the movement if subjected to rank and file control.

At some length V. explains the democratic structure of the CCF and brazenly states "The final and irrevocable authority in policy matters is the annual provincial convention to which each club has representation of one delegate and one alternate for every 10 or 20 members. The decisions of the convention are final and binding on the provincial executive and all party representatives." Were the CCF MPs instructed to ditch the party stand of opposition to war and support the second imperialist war? Who decided that CCF MPs should drop "no conscription of manpower without conscription of wealth"? The provincial executive? The national convention? The clubs? Emphatically no! The CCF bureaucrats and MP's decided. For the leadership of the

party there is complete and unfettered democracy. For the rank and file there is another standard. There is democracy in the CCF as long as the rights and privileges of the leadership are left unchal1enged. In essence it reflects the democracy in the bourgeois democratic state upon which it is based and upon which it lives a parasitic existence. Behind the parliamentary "democratic" front of the capitalist state the big trusts wield the power. In the CCF behind the constitutional "democratic" front stand the MPs, MPPs and their bureaucratic stooges.

Comrade V. and our West Coast comrades are well aware of the "unique' degree of democracy in the CCF. Everywhere in all their activities our comrades are compelled to disguise our activities and sometimes even our program. Our comrades who submit material to CCF News are compelled to use all sorts of subterfuge. Articles that are directed against class collaboration and reformist betrayal use evidence that is old and dealing with foreign betrayals. There is little immediate application of our ideas and a minimum of criticism of the present CCF bureaucracy.

One of the documents contributed to the discussion claims that it is necessary for us to stay in the CCF at all costs. What can this mean – "at all costs." The first cost that reformism demands of revolutionaries is the denial of their revolutionary principles and program. Without struggling on a principled program wherein would we differ from the betrayals of the Canadian workers perpetrated by the Lewises, Winches and Coldwells! To submit to their pressure is to be equally guilty of their crimes.

The weak and limited influences of the CCF in the great industrial east only signifies for V. a magnificent opportunity for our movement to build the CCF "from scratch." His naive description of the "democratic" internal regime in the CCF is only another phase of his attempt to foist on revolutionaries the task of building a reformist party. While isolated comrades may find the building of a CCF club an effective vehicle for the spreading of revolutionary ideas and the building of our movement V. wou1d give our movement as a whole the perspective of building the CCF.

The fact that revo1utionaries may enter or may maintain a large faction in a Social Democratic movement does not in any sense signify a re-eva1uation of that movement's historic role on our part. Reformism remains an agency of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of labor. We enter, build factions, and even clubs with the sole aim of building the revolutionary party. Revolutionaries do not subscribe to the theory that the workers must necessarily go through the experiences of reformism before moving to the revolutionary party. We have certainly never subscribed to the theory that we must put them through this experience by our building the reformist party. Reformism is a barrier to the revolutionary development of the working class.

It is our American comrades proud boast that not only did they win the best elements in the Socialist Party to Trotskyism but their expulsion at the hands of the right wing bureaucracy smashed the S.P. as an effective organization and removed that obstacle from the path of the development of the American workers. The development of the CCF into a revolutionary party is virtually excluded. The fact therefore that it does not exist as a powerfully organized force

among the Canadian workers particularly in the industrial east makes it all the more favorable for the growth of the open and independent section of the Fourth International.

The idea that the Trotskyists must build the CCF is presented in another document in what may appear to be a more palatable form but which is equal1y false as the previous argument. “If we can’t build a mass party in these areas (where the CCF is bankrupt or defunct), if we don’t supply the push in the CCF to do it, what is to prevent the LPP (Stalinists) from capitalizing (on) the situation growing out of the CCF ineptitude and our impotence? If they succeed in establishing a S.D. party with a mass base in these areas our tendency faces insuperable difficulties in trying to work inside a Stalinist organization.” Aside from the despairing attitude of the author that dooms Trotskyism to the parasitic role of always living on and working inside other political movements, the major flaw in this argument is the belief that the CCF constitutes a barrier to the rise of Stalinism.

Both the CCF and LPP are reformist parties. Despite their fundamental similarity however Stalinism constitutes a greater danger to the revolutionary development of the workers because of its attempts to mask itself in the traditions of the October revolution and Marxist Leninist principles and also because of its more extensive and efficient apparatus. The question is more properly posed as—how can Sta1inism be defeated? Can it be defeated by a strong CCF? The CCF can only combat the increasingly persistent LPP unity proposals with the most reactionary means. Even the CCF position of opposition to the LPP-Liberal Party coalition is threadbare as the CCF has already supported such a coalition in Manitoba. The CCF MPs who are taking a less and less critical position to the Liberals in the Federal House do not want to be compromised from making such a step themselves at a later date.

Far from being a barrier to Stalinism, the CCF paves the way for the more dynamic Stalinist movement to extend its influence over the entire working class movement. Trotskyism and only Trotskyism has effectively combatted the Stalinists. This accounts for the implacable struggle that the agents of the Soviet bureaucracy continue to wage against our movement.

Today no conditions exist that justify our continuing to concentrate our main activity on CCF fraction work. The CCF provides us with no special entree to the leftward moving workers. The CCF is in a period of decline. Its internal atmosphere is sterile; not only is there no sign of a left wing tendency, but the bureaucracy has further tightened its stranglehold on the organization. In the unions the CCF is identified with the top bureaucracy which is selling the workers struggles cheap. It is significant that in the greatest upsurge of the Canadian working class for decades the CCF stands divorced from the battle and is not making any gains but is retrenching.

Thousands of young workers and veterans have been thrust into militant action for the first time, thousands of workers are becoming dissatisfied with the CCF. Unless we build an independent party of the Fourth International these workers have no p1ace to go but to the Stalinists who, with their pseudo left turn, are now the sole gathering point for these leftward moving workers.

Conditions were never so favorable as they are today for the unfurling of the banner of Trotskyism. Our past years activities curbed and hemmed in as they were, give us a foretaste of

what lies ahead for us as an independent political party. Released from the restrictions imposed by a CCF orientation, our movement will sink its influence deep into the unions and rally around its banner the most militant and advanced elements of the Canadian working class.

(end)

August 11 1946

(Jean-Marie Bédard)

Dear Jean;

Since I was talking to you on the phone I have received a letter from New York infoming us that they have just recieved a statement protesting the beating of Albert Dwmazieres in France by the Stalinists from the French Canadian Revolutionary Party of Workers and Peasants. The letter came from Quebed City and was signed by L Couturier. Is this the hadiwork of Walsh and Valliancourt? Have they issued any statement of purpose. The Militant asks if there is any reason why they should not print it and I am informing them to go ahead. But we would like any inform ation that you can dig up as soon as possible on this question. If they have published any statement could you try to get a copy into us for the next issue of Labor Challenge which goes to press on Wednesday at the latest. We would like all the detailed information that you can obtain about this FCRPWP. We should perhaps invite them to our convention next month.

I had expected to have a talk with Bill M. before he left about the Montreal situation but at the last moment left for Hamilton and when I came was unable to get in touch with him. I see by the latest paper that tear gas was used agianst Textile workers at Valleyfield. Could he get all the dope on this situation for the Labor Challenge. I think that it would be a good idea also for him to have an interview with you on the events at the Montreal Council last week. You could give him a resume of the situation and a few words about the nature of the war labor boards and the need for labor to by-pass them and withdraw its representation from them.

With regards to our next move. Now that the matter of WLBs and labor representation on them has come up before the council and they have taken a stand on this question and you have made yourposition clear I think that we are compelled to wait for the August 15 deadline to see the next step. It is possible particularly now with this tear gas attack on Textile that the Stalinists will change this rather common type of resolution into action and really carry through a one day sympathy strike. If they were determined to carry out such an action I do not think they would have much difficulty and with their present pseudo left turn and their Textile and U.E. locals in danger it is possible they will do so. We can take for granted that the government committee will either take no decision or the 10 cent one. If the one day strike comes offI think that we should immediately issue a statment to the press and withdraw with as big a noise as possible from the WLB. If however this resolution remains on paper or the bureaucracy whips the Council back into line....we should also be prepared for t this more probable situation.

While I have not had a chance to discuss it with Murray, Paddy and I are both of the opinion that you should come to the meeting of the 15th prepared to withdraw regardless of whether the one day sypathy stike comes off or not. As a matter of fact a declaration by you a gainst the WLB and a statement of withdrawal would go a long way in pushing a one day sympathy strike through into action. Now that the Council has made a move of sympathetic support for your withdrawal I think it will be rather difficult for Conroy and Company to move in

and remove us from the directorship. Conroy was even forced to testify to the parliamentary committee that the unions had no choice as to who was to represent them on the boards and to expose that the boards had robbed the workers and recognized gains already made by strike action or threat of action. I think Mitchell sted that the 15 cent raise was granted because the IWA held a pistol at the Boards head. You might look up all that testimony and use Conroy extensivley in your speech against all forms of class collaboration.

I think that this situation is the most favourable that we will find for getting off the Board and that we should go ahead and use it.

Comradely yours,

August 23 1946

Dear Louis;

Thanks for your short note and the enclosed paper. Quite an interesting paper. I see that the LPP published one of the articles in its latest issue. The editor appears to me to be an old time S.P;er There are a couple of Stalinist or near Stalinist items in the paper but I noticed that the editor's book review was slightly critical of Joe or at least did not sing songs of praise to him anyway. If you ever get down there again it would be worth while to drop in and see him. I sent him for an exchange with L.C. but have not heard from hi yet. Nova Scotia rates about third on our ~~EX~~ schedule for coloniXztion. She is nosed out by Montreal and Windsor and also possibly Hamilton .

I had a short talk with Bill since he returned but was unable to get a very clear picture. Bill sort of walks around in a dream. He was at the meeting but it appears that that was all. In the past two months I have been sending missles to Alice quite regularly dealing with various problems of the group and making many suggestions. Possibly she has filed them away in the drawer along with that stack of literature. I don't like to repeat thevarious ideas and wonder if you have had a chance to read through this correspondence.

All the suggestions that I raised were of a very limited character. All designed with the purpose of keeping the group together in some manner I know the group is only too concious of its own character and in a sense sees the maintanance of itself as sort of futile. We absolutely disagree with this ~~XXXXXXXX~~ The existence of the Montreal group is vital to the existence of our Canadian organization. Particualrly in one sense. The Montreal comrades have a very important role to play in providing the National office with the funds necessary to carry on the paper and the organization. The past year of activity has produced tremendous results. We now have a stable group in Toronto which has great possiblities of growth this very fall. I am confident that Toronto will double its member ship this fall. The paper has opened up numerous contacts for us all across Canada. We have a stable group in P.R. and have clarified the situation in Vancouver for a great future expansion there. This has all been possible with the splendid financial aid that the Montreal comrades have been providing the National Office. If this was the only thing that the Montreal comrades could do they would have more than justified their existence. We have published L.C. for over a year now and have about 1300 paid subscribers. This is a tremendous feat for a small group as ours. This fall will see us on the map....we expect to run in municipal elections,etc.

Because the group has not been able to maintain itself in any way this very important role it has to play has suffered. Montreal's quota was $120 a month. It has been kept up fairly well but is now approximatley one month behind. Possibly this money is already on hand but I think I will let you have an accounting as some items have come to us directly from Jean,Ken,and yourself,and Alice who I understand looks after the account may have no record of this.

Up to June 4th 160.00

June 10		80.50
June 23	Ken	100.00
June 23	Jean	23.65
July 18		60.00
July 30	Jean	75.00

499.15

This is covering a period of 5 months@120.00 equalling 600100 Jean marked that last 75.00 as being 20 for July and 30 apart from dues so that makes Montreal actually 469.15 Would you give this accounting to Alice and see how she stands.

I asked Bill what the decision as to delegates to the Convention this next month was and he told me that he did not remember it coming up. If you will look up those letters you will find the announcement of the convnetion which we intend to hold Sppt 26,27, 28 in Toronto to found the Canadian section of the Fourth. Needless to say we would like as many comrades present as possible. Jean has not told us if he will be there yet. Of course he must come but we should also have You, Ken and any of the other comrades who are able to take the time off It should not be difficult to attend the the Satur day and Sunday session unless you happen to get a job out of town. We are looking forward to see as many as possible.

Alice has not yet replied to the correspondence on the literature that is lying around there. Would you ask her about it. Would you also enquire as to what goes on with the Labor Challenge bundle that she receives. If it just accumulates why we might just as well cut it a way down for we have lots of use for it. I was out to the Hamilton picket line only yesterday and distributed about 8 Or 9 hundred copies. You should have seen the excellent reception that it got. We will have to try and crack that town this fall.

Have you had the opportunity to read the second internal bulletin yet? If the Montreal comrades have any further contributions would you sned them in as we intend to get the next bulletin out in a week or so. I would like to hear your opinion on the last one if you have the time.

I understand from Bill that there were no preparations made at the last meeting for any future meetings. Perhaps this is not possible since you and Ken are always on the go. I had hoped that we would be able to having a gathering every other week where we could discuss any problem of the group and for educational read and discuss internal bulletins, the Communist Manifesto etc. This could be done without you and Ken if anyone took the responsibility to remind the comrades. It would also be a way of carrying on a bit of education which is badly needed without having to have a lecturer or making any preparations. However it would appear that this is not possible for the time being. Could you or Ken take it upon yourselves to call the gang together at least once a month when you are in town. I think this is extremely important in order to keep in contact with one another to collect the sinues of war, and do as much as is possible to educate a fellow like Colin . If we manage to pick up only one or two more Colin's and educate them a little why we will have a real base. How is Art coming along by the way. It seems to me to be a very serious fellow and one who could lead us to some good wokers.

What has happened to the Standard recently. Next to L.C. this rag of course is my favourite paper...but I have not seen anything from you in there recently. Are you getting muscled outby the syndicates? Has your wife read Socialism on Trial yet?

I left this note last night and I thought I had some more to say but can't seem to remall what it was. I suppose this was plenty anyway. Be seeing you in Toronto for the Convention, regards to all the comrades

Comradley yours

Ross

August 28 1946

(Jean-marie Bédard)

Dear Jean;

It is quite a while since we last heard from you. How is everything going ? I have been watching the press to hear if anything further developed in the Montreal Council but have seen nothing. Did your statement get good press other than in the Labor Challenge? What have been the most recent developments. I see that the sympathy strike did not come off on the 15th/..as we thought probable. How do you stand now....are we still on the Board? Would yo u take up the questions I dealt with in the August 11 letter.

Your note on Walsh got here just in time. I forwarded your information to the Militant and I see that they got it in time to pull out the letter. I see however that Labor Action (Shachtman) gave it the works. Yesterday we received a letter from them asking us if we could get Charles Papineau's address. I felt like pulling their legs but just told them that we were unaware of the existence of Papineau and his central Committee and his party. I thought there was nothing to be gained by telling them that it was Walsh particularly when I was not absolutely positive. I was thinking of sending Walsh and coy. a special invitation to attend our Convention but I am not so sure. I can't take these people seriously. I think it best that they see the date and the call to the convention in the paper as all the rest of Canada will. What do you think...I would like to have your opinion on this matter. We received a copy of of a pamphlet by Walsh on that long since dead horse Marquette. The only function that I can see that such a pamphlet now has is what Walsh put it to---to build up the CCL leadership. I see that he give you a certain amount of credit but lays it on thick for the Ottawa bureaucracy, Brother Brown and J.P. Walsh. This man is a great opportunist and bears good watching. I think that you should watch your post very closely as he appears to be grooming himself for it and trying to build himself up by ingratiating himself with the Ottawa gang. He gave the Editor of L.C. his permission to comment or use portions of the pamplet as he saw fit...what a joker.

This issue of the paper will be late agian due to the fact that a couple of the comrades did not get material in on time and also press trouble. We are carrying a news report of the B.C. break from the CCF. Four of the comrades broke after stating their position at a speci al CCF Trade Union Committee Conference. On the whole the situation out there is progressing well although we are of the opinion that they may not be making as much as could possibly be made of the situation. We are not publishing the date of the conference as they are of the opinion that in the interests of security its best not to do so. However we are straightening the situation out with correspondence and will probably be publishing the date and place in the issue following this one.

Edited

However I think we will be straightening [illegible] it up alright by mail in the next few days. We are going to have four comrades down from Vancouver for the Convention if all goes well. It not only gives us a good representation for our own convention but also will give us a fair block to work with in the CCL Convention.

As far as convention preparations are concerned [illegible] everything is not too bad. We hope to be able to get the third bulletin out this coming week...it will include the suggested constitution, possibly a Declaration of Principles and also a document on Tasks and Perspectives.

I have written Louis quite a lengthy letter but have received no reply. Possibly he is out of town. We have not heard who and how many are going to be coming from Montreal to our Convention. Of course you will be here but We are of the opinion that [illegible] every attempt should be made to more comrades down from Montreal. It will be a good education and experience. With a little urging probably most of the comrades could get down for the week-end.anyway.

I hope you have been receiving the French copies of the International Bulletins OK. I have been sending on the Colin all the copies of La Lutte Ouvriere. Let's hear from you when you have an opportunity to write

Warmest regards

Ross

September 7 1946

(-?)

Dear Alice;

I wonder if you would take time out from all that work you are trying to get done to drop me a line. There are several matters of importance that I would like to hear from you about just as soon as possible. Knowing how busy you are I wrote Louis a letter but I suppose he is continually going out of town and has had no opportunity to reply.

There are many questions that should be taken up but only a few demand immediate attention. Towards the end of July we announced the date of the founding convention of the party. We decided to hold it in Toronto on Sept.27,28,29. By holding it here and on those dates we are able to utilize the fact that many of our comrades will be delegates to the CCL Convention in Toronto only a few days previously. Jean phoned us and told us that he would attempt to get in even prior to the CCL Convention so that we could discuss many of the important problems that face us. But as yet we have heard nothing further from Montreal. It is important that as many comrades as possible come to the convention...if not for all the sessions at least for the week-end sessions on Saturday and Sunday. The problems of transportation and time should present no real problem as we are so close. So far we understand that there wil be four comrades anyway from Vancouver. How many can come from Montr eal? Would you make immediate enquiries so that we can arrange for accommodations etc.

It is important that the Montreal comrades hold a meeting prior to the Convention to discuss many of the questions that confront us and to make recommendations and suggestions....such as; the name of the party and paper, objectives and [illegible] taks we should set ourselves, etc.

And again there is always that question which plaques the working class movement---money. We have been missing the very generous support and I might add vital,due to our limited sources of income, that Montreal has supplied Labor Challenge. I won't take time out to check up on the exact situation but if I remember correctly the branch is one or two months behind. We would appreciate it if you could bring the branch up into line again as soon as possible.

As you no doubt noticed in the last issue of L.C. four of our B.C. comrades resigned from the CCF. They obtained an interview from the Vancouver Sun and a 15 inch story explaining the split and giving L.C. a good bit of publicity. The Canadian Press picked up the story and in a garbled form it was published in the G.&M. and Tely here. The G.& M. published a letter from us clarifying the issue and furthe plugging the paper. The Star published the news along with a statemen

by David Lewis who tried to make little of the affair although it involved 3 of the executive of the Trade Union Committee. I would send along the Vancouver clipping but unfortunately we have only one copy. The Vancbuver comrades report that they will probably take even more than they had expected. The North Vancouver club, one of the oldest in Canada will come over completely or will disappear from the map. Did the Canadian Press dispatch appear in the Montreal Press? If it did would it be possible to send the various paper a copy of this letter I am enclosing. You might type out a couple of copies and send it to the editor . All that would be necessary would be to change the Globe and Mail to whatever paper you submi t the letter to. This is invalueable publicity for our movement. Probably the dispatch was eagerly picked up by the Montreal press.

Hoping to hear from you shortly

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

T O All Branches....for their immediate attention

Dear Comrades;

One of the many important decisions of the founding convention of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada which has just been concluded was the decision to launch simultaneously with the party a financial campaign to put the party and its press on a firm footing.

The foundation convention laid down far reaching plans for the coming year, a year which will be one of great opportunities and extensive organizational growth. In order to implement these plans and finance the party for the period ahead we have set as our objective the sum of $1,500 dollars. Last year we were successful in raising $1,000 to launch Labor Challenge as a twice monthly. This year with a clearer perspective, the fruitful experiences of the past year, and fresh forces in our ranks, we shall have no real difficulties in raising the extra 500 dollars that is needed.

Immediately after the convention the Political Committee met to discuss the apportionment of the objective to the various branches and members at large. The P.C. recommends the following quotas

Toronto	$750	Alberta	20
Vancouver	300	Saskatchewan	15
Montreal	250	Milnes Landing	15
Windsor	70	Magna Bay	10
Prince Rupert	50	Natl Office	20

These quotas have been estimated on the basis of what the branches raised last year and what the P.C. considers from its knowledge of the situation to be realizable this year.

We recommend that the branches accept these quotas. But all branches should seriously consider their assignment before acceptance. Before we proceed to announce the campaign and publish the quotas every branch must carefully consider its assignment.....and accept it or advise the National Office of any need to revise it.

These quotas should be considered the minimum sum to be raised. Where any branch feels its quota is set at too low a figure we prefer that they accept the indicated quota and surpass it in the campaign.

Please note....The $1500 must be raised over and above all other financial obligations to the National Office.

As we have yet no extensive periphery the bulk of the money must still be raised from our own ranks. In the $1,000 campaign over half of the Toronto objective of $500 was raised from the branch members themselves. Numerous methods of raising funds can be devised by the branches; sympathizers should be gone over with a fine tooth comb, socials, raffles, etc., can be arranged. The campaign manager will exchange the various branch ideas in his correspondence.

The campaign will be announced in the mid-October issue of Labor Challenge and will continue to December 15th.

Branch meetings must be arranged at once so that the quota can be discussed and the National Office informed of its acceptance or any need of its revision. The branches need not wait however until the formal opening of the campaign on October 15 to start their campaign but can commence to raise funds at once.

We are confident that all comrades will rally all their energies to making this campaign an overwhelming success.

Comradely

R Dowson

Ross Dowson for the P.C.

1946-Oct0

ON THE LAUNCHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (RWP) (from Ross Dowson's speech notes, October 1946)

As the previous speakers have revealed, this revolutionary party which we are launching tonight has gathered around Labor Challenge.

It has gathered around the program of Labor Challenge. A program which is the accumulation, the synthesis, of all the lessons and knowledge opened from the past years of struggles of the working class. This is of course as it should be. We Trotskyists know better than anyone else the importance and power of the program. The history of the revolutionary movement has been a history of struggle for the correct program against all attempts to revise, distort and sell out the ideas and movement which alone can solve the crisis of mankind.

The wiseacres, the smart young men, the pen prostitutes of Stalin and the bourgeoisie, in their own cynicism, used to picture the Trotskyists' struggle against Stalinism as a personal struggle for power. They glossed over and ignored Trotsky's battle against the growing and parasitic bureaucracy, the distortions and perversions of Lenin's program and the corruption of the Communist International.

We knew better and events have confirmed conclusively the correctness of Trotsky's struggle which only ended when a GPU assassin finally struck down this revolutionary genius. Events have proven who was the genuine defender of the USSR. Today the Soviet Union is in the grips of an internal crisis which threatens to upset her nationalized economy — the sole remnant of the great October Revolution.

The Third International, once the world vanguard of the oppressed of all lands, has been destroyed and buried as a revolutionary force by Stalin. Completely encircled by the hungry imperialist world, her continued existence is endangered.

Trotsky built the Fourth International on a program. The Fourth International was not built on mutual hates and dislikes. In the course of its development the bureaucracy trod on the toes of numerous sensitive individuals. Many of these persons moved over to the ranks of the Left Opposition, the Boris Souvaraines, the Max Eastmans, etc., the James Burnhams and so forth. But these grudge politicians, these dilettantes, didn't stay long, for the Fourth was built on the firm foundations of revolutionary Marxism.

We too had this experience, although on a minor scale. In the process of development we made contact with serious revolutionists. As Labor Challenge reached out its fingers to the Canadian working class it also attracted elements of the CCF. As we got around to dealing with this and that problem, as we demonstrated that we were serious about our program, particularly as we translated the lessons of Germany, Spain, and now the imperialist labor government (the BLP –ed.), into terms of Canadian political life, a distillation process took place (like leaves on pavement wind blow and zip by). But the foundations of the RWP have been laid well for we have constructed our party on bedrock.

We, much less than anyone else, have no illusions about the great tasks that confront us. We understand only too well the extent and power of Canadian monopoly capitalism. We who have borne the brunt of the ruthless persecution of Stalinism, who have felt the bureaucratic hand of the CCF leadership, have no illusions about the influence that these perfidious parties have on the minds of the Canadian workers. But only a charlatan could evaluate these parties by the number of paid functionaries at their disposal, the extent of their press, or the number of seats they have in the House of Commons in Ottawa.

The mass movements erected by the German Social Democrats and Stalinists which pale their achievements here into insignificance, burst like a pricked balloon before the jackboots of Hitlerism. So too in Spain, Italy and so forth. Why — because they were corrupted with the false policies of class collaboration and social fascism.

Our program is the program of Lenin, of the October Revolution, of the heroic Liebknecht and Luxemburg who were murdered by the SD (German Social Democratic Party – ed.) ; the program of Trotsky and the 60 French members of the Fl who heroically held high the banner of internationalism by the publication of Arbieter & Soldat and for which they lost their lives in Hitler's concentration camps.

This program has been preserved by the Fourth International despite ruthless and cruel persecutions from the capitalist class and enemies within the ranks of labor.

Out of this program has risen the RWP. Last week supporters of this program gathered from the main industrial centres of Canada and lifted this stainless banner from the realm of propaganda into the world of action with the foundation of the party.

No class in history has achieved power without developing an organization with a program and leadership capable of winning the adherence of large sections of the population. A program without organizational expression is like steam in a leaking boiler... absolutely powerless. But a correct program with a party to implement it and give it direction is like steam under confinement and control — it has power. For the combined power of many is far greater than the simple sum of individual strengths. This simple law of mechanics is demonstrated by (ed. note: RD reads telegram). It is true in mechanics and it is true in political life. Only through the party, through conscious organization and direction can the workers achieve victory.

The working class is divided by many conflicting philosophies; by religion, nationality, race, sex and age. Without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fail to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary; not imposed from above, without possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the ranks by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

The building of this party, the RWP, the deepening of its influence into the ranks of the workers, and the spreading of its influence, is a race against time. The ruins of World War II are

not yet cold but the imperialist warmongers are lining up for another blood-bath. The last war devastated a continent, left 50 million dead and millions maimed and homeless. The coming war which is already on the way will devastate the entire globe and possibly end in atomic destruction of mankind. Our party, the only genuine anti-war party, carries within its hands the fate of humanity.

The struggle for socialism is no longer a matter of a more humanitarian and ordered society, but the struggle for life itself. The task of building the revolutionary party no longer presents itself to every worker as one of choice, but one of necessity. Mankind stands at the crossroads. Socialism or barbarism. Everyone who is an opponent of another imperialist war — every worker who is against capitalist exploitation and for militant anti-capitalist struggle, belongs in the RWP.

We have a tremendous task before us. The onrush of coming events will put all the old and bankrupt parties to the test. It will also put all workers to the test. Each one of us bears a part of the future of mankind on his shoulders. Each of us can put his strength and abilities to the service of humanity. A whole new life opens up for the worker inside the revolutionary party. For the only life worthwhile is a life dedicated to the struggle against capitalism. Join the Revolutionary Workers Party – join in the struggle against capitalist barbarism for a socialist world.

(end)

October 2and 1946

Dear Maurice;

We are very sorry you were unable to get in for the convention. I phoned up the Prince George several times hoping that you may have been only delayed. You missed a great experiance. The convention was a terrific success. The delegation from Vancouver amounted to 4 persons and we were fortunate in having M.R. Frank with us to give us a hand. While we were compelled to compress the convention into 2 days of concentrated work we managed to lay down extensive plans for the future growth of the movement and a solid foundation for the party. To give you an idea of the character of the delegates all I have to do is tell you that 6 of them were here through having attended the CCL convention in Toronto a few days previously. We may be small but we have a good proletarian core and the calibre of the comrades is high---many of them being recognized by workers as leaders in the trade union XXXXXX field

I wont give you any of the details of the sessions as we intend to publish an internal bulletin which will cover it all as soon as we receive the transcriptions from the short hand notes taken down by one of the Vancouver comrades.

I am enclosing a letter which contains all the details of one of the important decisions made by the conv ention. We have set this years financial drive at 1500 which should see us through alright even on the basis of much more extensive activity. You will note that the Windsor quota is $70...to be raised by December XXX 15th. Of course we do not expect you to dig this amount out of your creditors till. Comrade Shuste and Dotzert are XXXXXXX expected to come to our aid and perhaps one or two other persons that they and you may know such as Louis, etc. In my opinion this is a reasonable quota however let us know as soon as possible what you think of it. I know you and Don will do your best.

Speaking of Don...have you seen or heard of him lately? He has not written here for some time now. It looks like the Detroit branch XX expropriated the first Windsor proletarian we managed to pick up. I was trying to get him to go into Ford but he seemed to want to work the ferry. I am going to send him a duplicate of this letter and urge him to get in touch with you . I had intended to send you a list of all the subscribers in Windsor which you could go over with Don and pick out the best for him to go around to see if they would give us a hand in the campaign, but the vault with all the adresses in it is stuck and wont XXXXXX open. I will send the list later. We do not expect much from it but who knows...it will give us an opportunity to see how the paper is working on them.

Hope you will be in on a buying trip shortly. Try an arrange to XXXX stay overnight this time. I have a bottle of the best scotch avail able.

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

October 2 1946

First meeting of new Political Committee.
Present; R.M.T.D. absent-N.C. alternate G.S.
XXXX Detailed discussion on the financial campaign. Discussion on allotment of quotas to the various branches and members at large. Report on last years campaign given by Natl. Sect. and a report on the present strength and possibilities of the various group as they now stand. Quotas as detailed in circular letter to all branches dated October 2nd 1946. R instructed to draw up circular letter as outlined in discussion and XXX submit the P.C. recommendations for branch approval. Motion that J.R. of Toronto branch be appointed national campaign director to work in collaboration with the P.C. for duration of campaign. Motion that campaign be announced in next issue of L.C. even though quotas may not yet be accepted by branches. Motion that regular letters be sent to all branches during the campaign carrying detailed reports and suggestions for methods of raising funds devised by the various branches.
XXXXX Report of recent correspondence from P.R. re the probability of their withdrawal from CCF. Natl Sect. correspondence endorsed. Natl Sect instructed to write A.M. re the decision of the convention about the P.R. group and A.M. in particular
XXXXX Discussion on our plans XXXX

October 7 1946

Dear Don;

I am very sorry that you did not make the Convention. Unfortunately Maurice failed to get here also. It was very inspiring. We had a very good delegation of comrades from Vancouver and also from Montreal plus one ot two other points. Comrade Frank of the F.I. was here to give us a hand. We have made very extensive plans for the next year and had layed the foundations well for the future growth of the party. To give you an idea of the calibre of the group six of the delegates were delegates to the CCL convention which took place a couple of days prior to ours. These comrades are already recognized as leaders by many workers. One Comrade, Whalen, in recent election to determine who was to represent the district at the international convention of the west coast Woodworkers beat Harold Pritchett who is the leader of the Canadian locals and a well known Stalinist big-wig. We are going to have a substantial group in Vancouver and are making immediate moves to work on the Montreal branch to bring it into shape.

There will be full details of the Convention published in the next internal bulletin as soon as we get the stenographic reports back from Vancouver. The next issue of the paper will handle it in fair detail as we intend to put an insert in it.

I am enclosing a letter on one of the important decisions of the convention. This year we have decided we will be able to handle the extensive work planned with a campaign to raise the sum of 1500. Windsor had been given the quota of $70.00 Most of it is going to come from ourselves of course as we have yet no extensive periphery. But there are three of you there---Maurice and a chap in Amherstburg that has given us splendid support in the past. There are also other possiblities--persons who subscribe to the paper, etc. You might drop around and see these people

Art Hopkins 1076 Windsor
Alex Dahter 427 Crawford Ave
Orville May 1382 Ouellette Ave ..Maurice knows this fellow..no good but he should be good for a little money..condiders himself a good friend of Tom Bradley

What are you doing with yourself these days. I hope the reason that we have not heard from you is that you are tied up working at Ford's or someother Windsor shop. What ever may be the situation drop us a line as soon as possible and let us know how you are making out.

Comradely yours

Ross Dowson

(Jean-Marie Bédard)

October 8 1946

Dear Jean;

I will be writing you more fully about more important problems in a day or so but last week a couple of Tronto comrades raised the question of the report that appeared in the Star when you spoke on Political Action. I think I mentioned it to you before. The Toronto comrades suggest that a short letter be written to the Star by yourself disowning the remarks they put in your mouth and also explainig your position on this question. It will give you a chance to explain our position in a few words and also straighten out the record.

Below is the quote from Sept 26 Toronto Daily Star.

" The main question is whether the labor movement is going to have independent political action. There is need for such action against big business and its stooge in Ottawa, the King government. The CCF has a lot of weaknesses. I do not approve of its action on the Industrial Relations Committee. But the CCF is not seeking to coperate with the King government or the big interests.'

He called Lt-Col David Croll, Windsor M.P. as "one of the real exponents of labor in Ontario"

I am sure they will accept your corrections and I do not think it is too late to send it in as you can say that it has just been brought to your attention. Their address is

Toronto Daily Star
80 King Street West.
Toronto 1, Ont.

I am enclosing the first notice we got by the press. Not too bad although he puts a few sectarian remarks in our mouth. One of the comrades informed us that the formation of the party was announced over a Hamilton radio station. Time might cover it in their next issue as I had an interview with them. Sunday nights meeting was very good. Murray Tom and I spoke with Paddy in the chair. Audience of 65 odd persons was very much interested and a new and youthful group of people.were there.

Will write you shortly

comradely yours

Ross

Up the Revolution

Oct 8/46 G+M

New Communist Party Ready to Lead Canadian Revolt Any Time Folks Feel in a Revolting Mood

Friendly to the Russian proletariat, unfriendly to the Stalin bureaucracy, and hardly on speaking terms with Canada's major Communist group, the Labor-Progressive Party, a new organization is ready to lead the revolution in the Dominion. Any time the Canadian people revolt, the Revolutionary Workers' Party, formed in Toronto last week, will eagerly provide the leadership. So, at any rate, says Ross Dowson, national secretary of the RWP.

The new Communist party, founded by delegates from Labor Challenge Clubs across the country, is devoted to the Fourth International which succeeded the Third International in 1934 when Leon Trotsky, since deceased, declared Stalin and the Commintern were not sufficiently revolutionary. The Labor-Progressive Party, which numbers 23,000 members and is driving for another 10,000 in keeping with Tim Buck's announcement, "We want a mass Marxist Party—a Party of Communists" at the LPP national convention in Toronto on June 1, looks on the newly arrived group with little favor. "Trotskyists," was the comment of William Kashton, national executive secretary of the LPP.

Ross Dowson, who is not yet quite sure of the exact strength of his new party, though he admits it is "away less than 10,000," traces the inception of the new party to Stalin's "Popular Front." Dowson explains that the "Popular Front" ideology recognizes "good" as well as "bad" capitalists, and Frontists are instructed to try and get along with the good ones.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party recognizes no such phenomenon as a "good" capitalist, and wants to get along without any capitalists whatever. Mr. Dowson also claims his new party has a greater appeal to unions in basic industry—particularly the CCL-CIO groupings, than the Labor-Progressive Party. Because, he says, the CCL unions have less of the guild spirit than the AFL organizations, and the workers, consequently, are more revolutionary.

It has been estimated that some 120,000 Canadian workers owe allegiance to unions with Communist leadership or Communist influence in their policies. Ontario has approximately 75,000 of these unionists; British Columbia has about 33,000, Alberta 2,000, Quebec 7,000, with the remainder scattered through the Maritimes, chiefly in Nova Scotia.

Demonstration of support in the Dominion election of 1945 followed much the same distribution, with the exception that Montreal Cartier elected the only Labor-Progressive member of the Federal House—Fred Rose. Rose polled 10,413 votes, the greatest number given any Labor-Progressive candidate. Sam Carr, in Toronto Spadina, was second with 10,050. By Provinces, Ontario cast 35,528 votes for Labor-Progressive candidates, British Columbia 25,129, Quebec 15,163, Manitoba 14,006, Alberta 13,626, out of a total Labor-Progressive vote of 109,000.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party is not, apparently, greatly interested in the political scene at the present time. Ross Dowson declares that the LPP is a "reform" grouping rather than "revolutionary."

"But Mr. Dowson," he was asked, "assuming that we do have a revolution in Canada, does that mean we would become a tributary of Russia?"

"Oh, no, nothing like that," was the reply. "We'd simply dispense with capitalist domination, and the country would be run by the workers. There are sections of the Fourth International in about 30 countries, and we hope to have our group recognized as the Canadian section of the International."

Meantime, organization is proceeding, and most immediate plans of the RWP are for a celebration of "Red October," the anniversary of the Russian revolution.

October 9 1946

(—?)

Dear Alice;

We were all very sorry that only Jean and Art were able to get to the Convention. I was ~~X~~ hoping that you and Max or Ken and Louis if they returned from Newfoundland in time would get here at least for the last days sessions. The convention was a great success even though we did not have the time to produce extensive documents. It was very good to meet the comrades from Vancouver, in particular. All those comrades ~~XXXX~~ turned out to be experienced revolutionaries with extensive influence among the working class. They all came down to Toronto as delegates to the Canadian Congress of Labor Convention which was held a few days previous to ours. This alone will give you an idea of their calibre——already these comrades are recognized as experienced leaders by thousands of workers in their shops. Lloyd Whalen who is a mamsber of the International Woodworkers of America a stalinist controlled union polled more votes than the president of the union Harold Prichett a well known Stalinist trade union leader when the union was electing its representatives for the international convention of that union to be held shortly.

I will not go into the details of the convention as we intend to publish an elaborate report of it in the Internal Bulletin as soon as we receive the stenographic report from a Vancouver comrade who took it down in short-hand. Jean and Art could give a first rate resume between them anyway. Have you been able to call a meeting of all the comrades to hear such a report. I think it is very urgent that you do so assoon as possible if you have not already done so. Jean will be able to tell you some of the details of the plans we have to build the Montreal branch. If everything goes as per schedule Murray will be moving down there for a while to help the comrades build a base under Jean and Art and build a solid branch there.

Has there been any news in the Montreal press about the formation of the party. We gave a news release to the press last week. Time correspondent got in touch with us and its possible there might be a short item about us in the next issue of that magazine. I have already sent a copy of an article about us that appeared in the Globe and Mail. The reporter tryies to poke fun at us and ridicule us but in spite of it all he put some of our fundamental ideas accross. I sent it to Jean ask him for it. One of the comrades heard ~~XXX~~ one of the Hamilton radio stations announce the formation of the party.

On August the third or so I sent a very important circular letter to you--it was on the financial campaign that we have launched. Would you take this matter up at the meeting also. Last night the Toronto branch pleged over $250 and some of the more flush comrades were working on night shifts. We expect to raise over 450 from our own comrades and the rest from outside supporters. This money plus the regular pledges will see us over most of the next year even though we plan extensive expansion of activities. For example we intend to run for the office of Mayor in the coming Toronto elections. I am sure that the Montreal comrades will be able to shoulder this added burden as well as they did last year ~~XXXXXX~~ to help make Labor Challenge a twice monthly

I am enclosing a couple of receipts that have been hanging around the office--thanks.

You will be interested to know that Page Toles came down the last day of the convention and spent some time and serious effort taking photos of the affair. We will be using some of them in the next issue of the paper. I will send down a couple of the group photos as soon as Page turns them over.

The French comrades would like to make inguiries about french language marxist literature that may be available in Quebec. When I was last down there I saw that the Stalinist book store on St Catherines had quite an assortment of Marx, Lenin, in French. They have informed me that there is a plentiful supply of Marx and Engles over there but little Lenin. Lenin is obtainable only in C.P. editions and certain items of those lines are not in print--they refer to one in particular Contre le Courant. Would you ask Colin to go to the Stalinist bookstore as soon as he is able and to take down a list of all Lenin that is procurable, who published the edtions and what date they were published. If he would do so I will send the information over to the French comrades who may want us to buy it up and send it over to them.

A week or so ago we received a letter from Bill Morrow stating that he was resigning from the party. Previous to that he had submitted an extremely foolish statement on the question of what we should call ourselves and the problem of presenting our political position to the workers. It is probable that this liberal petty-bourgeois dilletante did not even trouble to inform the branch of his actions. In case this is so I thought I had better let you know. Our past six months relationship with him was completely unsatisfactory. He did no work in the branch whatsoever and contributed nothing to the movement. Since he is or was a member of the Montreal branch I will send copies of the letter and statement down to you for the information of the branch as soon as I can do so.

Possibly this has slipped your mind--would you send me all the books that the comrades do not want for their libraries that you have in that deep drawer of yours. Some of these books are now out of print and I could dispose of them here immediately. How did you make out with those photos of the Old Man and Lenin? If you are through with them or if it looks like you will not have time to work on them could you tie them up and send them here. Joe has some assignments from the Fourth International which he could use them for. Did you notice the small drawing on Trotsky on the August issue. Joe did that one...excellent..n'est-ce pas. Drop me a line as soon as you have time and let us know how you are making out. Are Louis and Ken in town yet?.

comradely yours

Ross Dowson

October 10 1946

(Jean-Marie Bédard)

Dear Jean;

I am sending the enclosed material to you for your information and the information of the Montreal branch. These are the only copies I have so would you send them back when you have finished with them.

Probably Bill did not go to the trouble to inform the Montreal branch of his resignation from the party but since he was a member of that branch and has returned to Montreal it is necessary that they should know all the details. I did not send this material to Alice as I am afraid she may not understand it and anyway a responsible person should see the material first so he can explain the situation to these less educated comrades.

I have only informed Alice of Bill's resignation and told her that I was sending the material along. This whole question should be aired out at the next meeting.

Incidentaly this meeting should be called as soon as Ken and Louis get in town and if this appears to be a long ways away then we should call it at once so we can get to work on the financial drive.

I think that the material is quite self-explanatory. The document is in reply to George's article on The Meaning of Labels". The part on the bottom of page 5 and top of 6 where he says we shouldnot attack the Kremlin clique as it makes it difficlut to explain why we defend the Soviet Union sums up the document for me. This political play boy is yellow. He is looking for an easy road to the masses. He is terrorized by the power of Stalinism, the CCF and the bourgeoisie...and has contempt for the workers. For him the working class are just dumb silly vehicles of progress.

It is also full of a great many factual mistakes and lies but I won't go to the trouble to enumerate them .

He makes a statement in his letter of resignation which makes me proud to be a member of our movement and gives me absolute confidence in victory...."During the convention I had the opportunity of seeing a representative cross-section of t the membership. It became quite clear to me that there is no chance of my ideas gainign ascendancy.." We are too god-damn serious about our ideas and too proletarian for the likes of Morrow. There must have been too many workers leaders like Tom and Lloyd and Art for his likings.

You could prepare an interesting and very instructive educational for the Montreal comrades on this fellow. He did nothing in the Toronto branch in the sub campaign or any othr activities of the group. All he has ever done was write the odd article.

I guess the formation of the party was too much for him he wanted to belong to a parliamentary discussioh club.

Comradely yours

1946-Oct30

THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN EUROPE FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II (from speech notes, October 1946)

After the First World War only the European working class seemed capable of revolutionary struggle. Indeed, great sections of it took the road to the proletarian dictatorship, inspired by Russia, goaded by inflation (and) insecurity: (Witness) Germany 1918-1923, Bavaria, Hungary and Britain 1926. While their great and heroic battles inspired and taught the most advanced workers of the world – their struggles had only pale reflections on the rest of the working class and oppressed peoples of the globe.

The world following World War II presents an entirely different picture. Once the mainstays of the imperialist masters, the colonial peoples in the Far and Middle East are waging a revolutionary struggle against the colonial despots – the USA, Great Britain, the US – workers' offensives reached unprecedented proportions, (as) in Canada. English workers thrust the Liberals and Tories out of office. Instead of constituting the sole seat of world revolution, the old world (was now) only one of many.

But while not the sole seat it hugs the spotlight, (as) the most experienced working class, the most numerous and concentrated working class. In Europe the capitalist crisis is sharpest; the struggle most advanced; the European continent lies in the grips of an unprecedented crisis of runaway inflation, unemployment and a shortage of basic necessities. Five years of war has disorganized economic life, exhausted material resources, brought famine and disease. On top of these miseries, vast numbers of occupational troops expropriate what little there is.

In the Soviet Zones the countryside is stripped of its wealth; factories are transported to the USSR. American and British imperialism, joined by the Stalin bureaucracy, imposes vast war indemnities on the pauperized working class. The British are incapable, the US unwilling, to risk capital and commodities. The European bourgeoisie is unable to stabilize the war-shattered economy. The slightest demand of the masses against the high cost of living, against famine, against unemployment, challenges the very foundations of the capitalist regime.

The differences between Great Britain and the USA only aggravate the situation. The US wants to be free to move everywhere; Great Britain tries to find a base to buffer US superiority. Their combined differences with the USSR, which is spreading and extending her sphere of influence, only sharpens the crisis still more. It is only with this background, the complete bankruptcy of the European economy on a capitalist basis, that we can understand the most recent developments in Europe.

The most recent developments are of a most peculiar character. We are now entering into a stage of crisis within the ranks of the old-line political parties of labor. Just a few weeks ago, fifty-nine Labor Party MPs in Great Britain challenged the Party's foreign policy. One hundred members including the fifty-nine abstained from voting. The Atlee government was sustained by the Union Congress last month.

(We've seen) the breakout of civil war in Greece. In the Russian Zone of Germany, half the population voted against the Stalinist-sponsored United Socialist Party, despite all the paper at its disposal. In the US and British Zones, the Social Democrats came out of the elections terribly weakened. The Stalinists debate with Trotskyists in Greece and Italy. (There's been an) upsurge in Germany. German prisoners of war in the French mining area refused to continue (working) until (their) ration was increased, (their) broken leaders in concentration camps.

On November 16, the Ruhr coal miners at Bremen rejected (their) union leaders' agreement to work one voluntary Sunday a month. Food rations (are) insufficient, (their) leaders agreed with British occupation forces. The French Stalinists denounced the miners' (demands in order), to obtain more coal for French capitalism and to aid the Soviet government to participate in the exploitation of the Ruhr. In France the Communist Party emerged from the recent elections as the strongest party. The Socialist Party lost twenty-seven seats, mostly to the CP. In Italy, the unemployed stoned socialist and Stalinist leaders in a mass demonstration. A body of revolutionary syndicalists went off into the hills to wage a revolutionary struggle.

What is the meaning of these developments? We are on the threshold of the second phase of the European Revolution. In the first wave of workers' struggles – which broke out with the collapse of the Hitler military machine – the masses entered the conflict full of confidence in the Stalinist and CP leaders. It was they who appeared at the head of the political and trade union field. Betrayed by their leaders, they are gradually learning that the whole liberation meant only stabilization of their misery.

The British Labor Party leaders, the Social Democrats and Stalinists in Italy and France, can only repeat (what) their capitalist masters (say), but with more authority – "Produce first" – which only means work more and earn less. When the German repressive apparatus crumbled, the masses were thrust into the political arena. The bourgeoisie of France, etc. were in a perilous position. The old apparatus of oppression was no longer existent; its personnel soiled with collaboration, the old parties disappeared. But they had two forces in hand: 1) the Anglo-American armed forces, and 2) the Stalinists and Social Democrats. The armed forces were not as reliable as the Stalinists and Social Democrats – (we saw) the US, Canadian and British armies' revolts (Ed: the demobilization movement.) There was a political vacuum which workers went (in) to fill: in Greece, ELAS; in France, the Resistance Movement – not just armies but ruled by Committees.

In Italy the organs of dual power were set up in Milan. Workers destroyed Mussolini. The bourgeoisie had to get the workers off the streets and under control. Without the Stalinist and Social Democrats (this was) not possible. Where Stalinist and Social Democrats couldn't persuade workers, cannons of occupation armies did, (as in) Greece and Italy. Workers' leaders showed they were ready to keep the movement "in reasonable limits." The bourgeoisie could only impose its will through these leaders. The relationship of forces didn't permit them to govern directly; coalition governments were formed.

The leaders of the left were given responsibility of power when the most unpopular measures had to be taken. These governments rested on the support of the workers' movement. When the

masses spoke of political democracy they had in mind a regime in which elections would determine not only members of parliament, but also judges, functionaries and those in charge of food control.

The Stalinists and Social Democrats imposed upon the masses irremovable judges who had served the Nazis, and functionaries devoted to the bourgeoisie. In opposition to the democracy as understood by the masses, their leaders counterposed an authoritarian regime surrounded by fascist police, which suppressed workers' papers and meetings, and refused to prepare elections. The masses wanted economic democracy which signified expropriation of the capitalist who worked for the Nazis, setting up of equitable rationing under popular control, and nationalization of banks without indemnities.

For the leaders, economic democracy meant replacing a bourgeois minister with a CP or SD minister at the head of corrupt department officials, and indemnities to the poor capitalists and labor-management committees. Once the masses left the streets and the opportunist leaders were in the government apparatus, the bourgeoisie moved 1) to liquidate the centres of dual power, and 2) liquidate the independent armed forces of the masses, (e.g.) Togliatti in Italy.

Where the Stalinists and Social Democrats were not able to pressure the workers to give up, where they had taken over and controlled factories, they nationalized them under the bourgeois state. While the workers' leaders liquidated the gains made by the masses, the bourgeoisie further entrenched themselves – in six months time the situation had radically changed. DeGaulle (was) the axis of capitalist reaction (with) King Leopold III in Belgium, as Greece launched a White Terror and returned the monarchy, while in Italy their regime was stabilized but they lost the monarchy.

Even in the Russian-occupied zones, in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania, the bourgeoisie stabilized itself. Only in Greece have they won a political victory – only temporarily. The first stage ended in stalemate, typified by the situation in France. The bourgeoisie has gained confidence and hope; their attack on the left now (cites) the Russian danger... The stalemate is only apparent; the workers are potentially stronger. Europe is stagnating economically, and the difference between frozen wages and prices goads workers into action (here a quote from Germain [Ernest Mandel] p. 275). The capitalists are attempting to meet this crisis by driving down the living standards of the masses, by increasing taxes and by freezing wages. Also, by grooming DeGaulle and the old rejected monarchies.

(There is) no vacuum: the workers rejected the Socialist Party in the French election; the SP lost 725,000 votes since last October, one year ago. The MRP (a middle of the road party) also lost; they lost to the extreme right wing. The votes lost are the middle-class votes. The Stalinists and Social Democrats justify their capitulation to win middle-class votes, but lost them and alienated the workers also. The Italian municipal elections showed the same development, while the openly fascist movement Common Man Front won in Palermo and was second in Rome.

The working class is being impelled to this second stage by the whole objective situation. We are witnessing now the beginning of the second stage. Its outbreak will be determined by the workers' capacity to push aside its opportunist leadership, above all the Stalinists. Three factors

are forcing its development: 1) the disillusionment with the leadership, 2) the economic crisis and 3) the feebleness of the bourgeoisie.

Will the second stage result in a successful proletarian revolution? No one knows. It will result in new conflicts, new retreats and attacks; (it is) the calm before the storm. The workers silently keep an account of all the provocations and affronts of the bosses. (They) understand that the Production First policy serves only to produce bigger profits for the trusts while their living standard is frozen. Their will to work will only come with more to eat. (The workers) keep an account of all the capitulations of its Stalinist leaders. (They) are tired, desire peace and tranquility, but explosive material accumulates; a new revolutionary wave in any country will have great repercussions on the whole continent.

What determines the whole question is the strength of the parties of the Fourth International. They will grow and spread their influence in time. Even if the second wave subsides it will surpass the first and create even more favorable conditions for the growth of the Fourth International. There are parties of the Fourth in every country (which are) advancing in concert the program of workers' power. In France the PCI completed their election campaign, and polled 60,000 votes. In this campaign the French Trotskyists brought the program of revolutionary socialism to new layers of French workers. A key demand in its program was a workers' government – the CP and SP to power. Included also were other aspects of our transitional program such as expropriation of all key industries without compensation under workers' control, and a sliding scale of wages and hours.

(The PCI) played a big role in the Postal Workers' strike, (which suffered) terrible persecutions, (with militants) murdered (and it's) press outlawed. In Italy, Greece, Belgium - and other European countries the Fourth International is in the process of preparing the workers for the seizure of power, for the destruction of capitalism, and the Socialist United States of Europe. On the growth and development of the Fourth International hangs the fate of humanity.

(End of text, research notes attached with– Fourth International & Germain articles, Aug/46)

1946-Oct

"RUSSIAN REVOLUTION MEMORIAL /46"
(From Ross Dowson October 1946 speech notes)

Twenty-nine years ago on this very evening a short stocky figure arose in the Second Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies amid a storm of applause. This figure was Nicolai Lenin. Gripping the edge of the speakers stand he stood there patiently waiting for the ovation to subside. When it did he said simply "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order."

On that day the Soviet, the most democratic parliament known to man, passed the legislation which was to be the basis of a new social order. Led by the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, the Russian workers and peasants smashed the tyranny of the capitalists, the landlords and the church, and for the first time in history ushered in the rule of the toiling people.

They seized the vast landed estates of the church and nobility and gave it to those who tilled it. They nationalized the factories and put them under workers' control. They issued a clarion call against imperialist war and slaughter, and set as their great goal the destruction of world capitalism and the elimination forever of class divisions.

For the first time the body of socialist theory developed by Marx and Engels proved its correctness in action. The Bolsheviks had arisen from a tiny despised and persecuted sect to win the overwhelming support of the Russian masses. The Revolution vindicated Lenin's lifelong struggle for the building of a Bolshevik combat party, the only party in modern times that has proven its capacity for seizing and holding power and mobilizing the masses for the herculean tasks of uprooting the old and building the new.

The Russian Revolution demonstrated once and for all that the working class can take power, and can reorganize the economy of the country for the benefit of the people and run society. What a magnetic influence the Russian Revolution exercised in its heyday. It stirred all humanity to its very depths. It aroused new hope and new courage. New vistas opened up before humanity who was suffering the blood and anguish, the hatreds and cruelties of capitalism.

In the minds of its leaders and its supporters throughout the world, the revolution in Russia was but the beginning of a revolution that was destined to sweep through Europe and ultimately around the world. [John Reed, Page 130-131]

The revolutionary message and actions of the Bolsheviks spurred the workers to the overthrow of their capitalist enslavers. The storm swept through one country after another. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Finland and so forth the workers attempted to emulate the achievement of their Russian brothers. Kiel, Berlin, Bavaria -- Canada [the OBU].

Thrones toppled and governments quaked. Frightened by the revolutionary upsurge and cry for justice, the imperialists hastily terminated their rivalries in order to drown the flames of revolt that threatened the rotten capitalist structure on the entire European continent. They threw their armed forces against the newly-born workers' state. Although isolated and starving, their industry shattered and agriculture in chaos, the workers' republic survived. The magnificent Red Army organized by Trotsky and shaped by the workers and peasants who came to fight for their revolution, turned back Churchill's and Wilson's armies of intervention and smashed their internal agents of counter-revolution. World capitalism couldn't destroy the USSR because of the power of the Red Army and the solidarity of the international working class.

But humanity was unable to take the next step. Capitalism was too strong and the workers too unprepared. The workers lacked a hardened and experienced leadership such as the Bolshevik party. The revolutionary wave subsided and the USSR remained isolated, surrounded by a hostile capitalist world.

Lenin and Trotsky and for that matter the entire Bolshevik party knew that the Russian workers' victory could not be conclusive while it remained isolated and hemmed in by the capitalist world. Only the extension of the revolution could save it from degeneration. They stalled for time at Brest-Litovsk hoping for the German Revolution. The Red Army invaded Poland hoping to inspire the Polish workers to take power, and they forged the instrument of world revolution, the Third International, which was to *(become)* the general staff of the world socialist revolution.

But the revolutionary wave receded. The forces of reaction in the USSR, once held in check, began to assert themselves.

Power in the USSR was usurped by a new bureaucracy. It rose on the backs of the Russian people, who were exhausted by three years of imperialist slaughter, three additional years of civil war, and encircled by world capitalism. This bureaucracy was a product of the terrible backwardness of Russia, and world reaction. Alien in its aims and interests to the goals of the revolution, it has deepened the reaction in the Soviet Union, and is destroying and undermining the achievements of November 7, 1917.

The powers of government rested **under Lenin and Trotsky** in the hands of the Soviets. The trade unions and factory committees, unhampered by bureaucrats, represented the interests of the industrial workers. The Red Army soldier was sworn in as a soldier of the international working class. All this and much more has been wiped out by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The first victim was the Left Opposition led by Trotsky. Trotsky's defeat was only the prelude for the transformation of Lenin's party into the totalitarian apparatus of the bureaucratic caste. The workers triumphed with the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." The bureaucracy triumphed over the workers by smashing the soviets.

The Kremlin rules by unparalleled terror, concentration camps, and extermination of all opposition by mass purges. In the Moscow Trials, of Lenin's co-workers only Stalin remains of the Central Committee. The bureaucracy relies increasingly on hostile groups and class *(forces),* with the church's return and superstition, with the voting age raised from 18 to 23, with Czarist disciplinary rules introduced in schools, with reinstitution of old sex laws and divorce laws and culture, (including) a bemedalled bureaucracy in the Army with salutes, wages and privileges, and with a revision of inheritance laws.

Up to the present the retreat of Stalinism before capitalist restoration has halted before a mighty barrier: the nationalized property of the Soviet Union. Stalin's destruction of the October Revolution's social and political superstructure threatens to undermine this base, but has not yet destroyed it. It was the nationalized property that inspired the heroic defence against the Nazi war machine. It is on the basis of its nationalized property that the Soviet Union has survived 29 years of isolation, and demonstrated the great superiority of a planned economy over capitalist anarchy.

While world capitalism was in the agonizing grip of an economic depression in 1929, the Soviet economy, despite the bureaucratic perversions of Stalinism, went forward from triumph to triumph. It is the existence of the nationalized property that rouses the hostility and envy of world capitalism, and one-sixth of the globe remains unexploited by capitalism.

Stalin purged the party of the Bolsheviks and thereby earned the applause of Mussolini. He destroyed the Third International. But no matter how often he proclaims his desires to collaborate with world capitalism, no matter how often he diverts the revolutionary struggles of the workers and murders their leaders, he cannot divert their hostility to the USSR.

His lackeys throughout the world, the Tim Bucks and Fosters, can loudly proclaim their loyalty to their respective bourgeoisies, support them in elections, and hamstring labor with a no-strike pledge, but world capitalism remains implacably hostile to the USSR. The imperialists covet the Russian market for investment and exploitation, and find the road blocked by its nationalized economy. This is the irresistible source of conflict between the USSR and imperialism which for all his betrayals Stalin has not been able to overcome. The German-Soviet Pact which Stalin announced was sealed in blood before this factor became a scrap of paper.

It is only through understanding this basic contradiction in international relations that the reasons for the mad preparations for the third imperialist war becomes clear. American imperialism, the victor of the second world war, is out for the unchallenged economic supremacy of the globe. In collaboration with its junior partners, Great Britain and Canada, the American capitalist class is preparing an atomic bomb assault against the remaining conquests of 1917.

The King government is contributing to this power-mad alliance all the findings and experience of the Muskox expeditions which was operated in collaboration with the American military staff, and aimed for eventual war across the top of the globe with the USSR. It has taxed the country with a billion-dollar war budget and is integrating her military equipment with that of the U.S. The King government led off the anti-soviet campaign with the Ottawa Spy trials, and is furnishing momentum to red-baiting which is feverishly growing here.

The bitter fights that wrecked the Paris Peace conference were all designed to build up the war spirit against the Soviet Union. The United Nations, far from being an organization designed to forestall war by peaceful arbitration and understanding, as both the Stalinists and the CCF avow, is American capitalism's main instrument for preparing the next and possibly world-destructive atomic war.

Stalin, confronted with this insoluble dilemma, twists and turns. But his 20-year peace pacts are for naught. His enigmatic statements that there is no danger of another war and that atomic bombs are not dangerous, cannot hide the facts and cannot forestall the war preparations.

In an attempt to preserve its national interests, the Kremlin bureaucracy has extended a network of buffer states around its borders. The bureaucracy, in alliance with its imperialist allies, diverted the revolutionary upsurge that followed the collapse of the German war machine. Following the same reactionary policy of world imperialism, (the USSR) drains vast indemnities from the populations, strips the country of its industrial apparatus, and institutes state capitalist governments.

For the sake of paltry loot, for the small change of reparations, completely meaningless so far as solving the USSR's economic needs, the Kremlin has raised against itself a wall of hatred throughout Eastern Europe and the world. For the sake of military control over the poverty-stricken bankrupt Balkans, the Kremlin has helped Anglo-American imperialists crush the revolution and prop up decaying capitalism.

Having done this job, the Kremlin is face-to-face with Wall Street. By its rape of the European masses, by weakening the struggle against war in fact by its whole internal and foreign policy, the Stalinist bureaucracy is leading the Soviet Union to disaster and destruction.

Fortunately the fate of the Soviet Union and the remaining gains of the October Revolution do not lie entirely in the hands of the bureaucracy. The final word will be spoken in the international arena. Just as the revolutionary uprisings of the European workers saved the new-born workers' state from imperialist intervention, so the revolutionary upheavals now on the order of the day in Europe can once again save it from capitalist restoration.

For the revolutionary workers, the task of defending the Soviet Union consists above all in extending the socialist revolution on a world scale and in defending it against imperialism and Stalinism.

The strength of Stalinism in Eastern Europe is deceptive. Recent election returns have revealed decisive defeats for the bureaucracies' puppet politicians. It's forces are maintained almost exclusively on Red Army bayonets (and) on the illusion that the Communist Parties represent the traditions and goals of the Russian Revolution.

Internally the bureaucracy is confronted with a great crisis and rising discontent. Only this explains the new purges that spread through Russian society. It's reactionary policies in Europe will dispel the illusions about the role of the Communist Party.

The Fourth International is the true representative of the Russian Revolution. It is only with the program of the Fourth International, which is the program of October, that the gains of the first successful overthrow of capitalism will be saved and the atomic destruction of mankind be prevented. Only on the road of October, only the parties of the Fourth International of which the Revolutionary Workers Party is the Canadian section will the Soviet Union be saved for socialism.

Hail the October Revolution.

(end)

P.C. Meeting and November 4th 1946
Present; T.B. MD. RD. DW Witnesses

Discussion on situation developing in Vancouver with regards to LPP youth elements and on actions taken by Vancouver comrades todate. P.C. approves of line of action outlined in recent Vancouver correspondence;"condition of acceptance into branch be that they submit an agreed statement to the public press outlining why they are quitting the LPP and applying to the RWP and that a further statement be prepared for Labor Challenge." The National Secretary's recommendation to the branch that their withdrawal from the LPP be held off in an attempt to carry out a principled fight in the LPP and provoke a split was turned down by the P.C. in favour of an immediate break.

Detailed discussion on the adviseability of publishing Labor Challenge as the offical organ of the RWP; Canadian section of the Fourth International. The P.C. in unanimous agreement that the paper be published as the party organ. The National secretary instructed to conduct a poll vote on this question in the National Committee..action pending agreement of the National Committee.

Discussion on the preparation of the IWA to move into Quebec and organize the uebec and Maritimes lumberworkers...and the role of our Quebec CCL comrades. The P.C. is of the opinion that it would be adviseable for our comrades to use their connections to switch their activities over to this very big and promising field. Our Montreal CCL comrades are without a base in the trade unions and this would give them one in a basic industry. The IWA would probably publish a paper which would take the place for us of Les Nouvelles and it would provide us an opportunity to get a few persons on the pay-roll who could strengthen our trade union work in uebec. Suggestion that TB could get on pay-roll and with his experience in lumber could be invalueable aid to J.M. National secretary instructed to inform JM of details of discussion and urge him to make a trip as soon as possible to Toronto to talk thing over.

Report on the Financial Drive and the various activities of the branches along this line. All branches urged to start immediate payments on their pledges so that objective will be reached and accounts cleared on December 15th. Montreal, Vancouver, and Prince Rupert have not made any payment on their pledges.

Discussion on the problem on moving comrade from centre to Montreal. JM urges that this be done immediately. Problem of the paper, Toronto branch, National secretary's duties, election campaign etc. touched upon. Motion to defer further discussion and decisions till next P.C. meeting passed.

Will all N.C. members see that branches of which they are members send in funds that have been raised for Financial Drive at once.
Will all P.C. members inform N.C. of their vote on the question of publishing Labor Challenge as the official party organ

Jean-Marie Bédard

November 8 1946

Dear Jean;

Two nights ago we managed to get together for a Political Committee meeting. We had quite a lengthy discussion on the Montreal situation and particularly on the questions that you raised in your last letter.

It is very difficult for us to discuss the many aspects of the question by mail as we do not know all its ins and outs. We hope that you will be able to come into Toronto next wek-end. If you left Saturday night on a sleeper and returned Sunday night on a sleeper it would give us a good bit of time to discuss the matter and would only absent you from Montreal for the Sunday. We hope you can do this otherwise we should perhaps send someone down. This of course is not as good as your coming here where we could all participate in the decisions. Would you let us know if it is possible for you to come and when.

We are of the opinion that the IWA drive has great potentialities. The times are ripe for the organization of the Eastern woodworkers. It is unfortunate that the Stalinists control the IWA and will make great capital in this drive. However we are only a small group with no real base particularly in Quebec and can not even hope to effectively block their capitalizing on the drive. However we are of the opinion that the situation does present us with some valueable opportunities.

The recent CCL convention did better our position in the trade union movement by getting you an elective post. However both you and Art are still not in an entirely favourable position As functionaries of the CCL we have little opportunity to build a base under ourselves. Without this base our post is always in danger and we are unable to do effective work as revolutionaries. What organizational work we may be able to do is always in danger of being taken away from us. and turned over to one of the big trade union centres. The IWA campaign does appears to us to present us with an opportunity to better our position What do you think of the idea of approaching Brown to get the job of regional director of the IWA or some other post in the IWA? This would give us the inside in this drive and we would be able to build a base under ourselves in the process. We would lose Les Nouvelles Ouvreieres but there is no doubt that the IWA would publish a paper and we could possibly take it over. If you could get a post of this kind we could also bring in Colin and the Vancouver contact that Lloyd has. It is possible that you might even be able to hire Tom who has invalueable experience in the organization of lumbermen and is familiar with large sections of the counrty and the trade down that way.

It is probable that Brown would be favourable to giving you a job in the IWA drive. After all you have qualifications that few others have and these guys are afraid of the Stalinists

It would be a great experience for all our comrades to get into this situation and I am sure that our party could make great gains in the process of the drive.

I must apologize for my rather ineffective part in our telephone conversation of last week. You caught me right in the midst of one of our socials, there was a lot of noise, comrades were passing back and forth and I had already had a few drinks so was not at my best. We did not have acchance at the last P.C. meeting to take up the matter of sending Murray down to Montreal in advance of Janurary but we are going to take up the whole matter of personnel at the next meeeting which I will arrange for next week.

Would you give Alice a jog to get a good part of the special campaign fund pledge in by the next week end.

Hope you can get in next week end. Let us know in advance.

Comradely yours

Ross

To members of the National Committee

November 13 1946

Dear Comrades;

Yesterday Comrade Tom Bradley asked that an emergency meeting of the Political Committee be held.

He informed us that on that morning TuesdayNov 12th he had quit his job. He also told us that he wished to return to Vancouver that very night.

The P.C. had absolutely no forewarning of this action. Comrade Bradley was obviously in a nervous and overrought condition which prevented intelligent discussion on his work in the Toronto branch and possibilities of working in Vancouver or elsewhere. He could give no reasons for his returning to Vancouver other than of a purely personal character.

Under the conditions that confronted it the P.C. did not feel that it was in a position to order him to stay. [redacted]. His membership has been transfered back to the Vancouver branch.

Comradely yours

Ross Dwoson

Ross Dwoson

November 17 1946

Dear Don....and Eleanor;

Maurice came in town and told us the good news. Congratulations and best wishes to both of you. I thought that something of an epock making character had happened as we had not heard from you so long.

Maurice tells me that you are attempting to get into the States. All I can say is DOWN WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. I have always dreaded the ecomonic and social preponderance of our "good" neigbour to the south. My fears increased as you ceased to answer the numerous letters that I kept sending to your Detroit address. As you know we had always intended to use some of the facilities of the Detroit branch to build the Windsor branch..we had intended to expropriate some of their labors but it looks as if the would be expropriators have been expropriated. Well I suppose you might say that it is all in the family.

I should be giving you a little shit for the fact that you have failed to keep in contact with us but I can imagine how busy you must have been in the past while. I understand that you have a job in some sort of construction work and you are living with Lyle. Must be quite a mad-house. Before you pull out for the states and become a full time member of the SWP how about giving the WWP some parting aid.

No doubt Maurice told you about the financial drive we are holding. He has on his own guaranteed the entire quota of 75dollars that we had apportioned Windsor on the basis of Shuste, himself and you. As a matter of fact he has already paid in 30 dollars of the amount. I do not know how you are fixed. Possibly after your very prolonged holiday you are almost completly broke. However there are a few people in Windsor whom you might see for financial aid. Maurice knows them all I think and could possibly scare up a few other names but as you understand he is not in a very good position to see them himself.

Erle Goodfellow 740 Pierre Ave
Art Hopkins 1076 Windsor
Alex Dahter 427 Crawford Ave
Orville May 1382 Ouellette Ave

The first fellow should certainly be seen as he is quite sympathetic to us, middle two are unknown factors but the last should be seen even though he is a poor specimen. He considers himself a good friend of Tom Bradley, one of our comrades.

Whatever you can or cannot do on this project let's hear from you anyway. You will be interested to know that Bill Currie has joined the party and is coming along very well. Awaiting your reply

comradely

Dear George; ~~(Vancouver)~~ Norrach S.L.P. New York (Jean (Marie) Bédard) Hea Sutherland

I must apologize for the long silence. I have just looked back in the files and have found that I failed to answer your very nice letter of greetings to the convention. This is such a long time past that I do not suppose I am called upon to tell you how it went off. At any rate Comrades Frank has no doubt given you a much better picture than I could give . This much can be said for it;there we cut for once and all time the cord that tied us to the West Coast brand of centrism ~~XXX~~ We laid the party on firm foundation and gave all the comrades the feel of what it means to belong to a revolutionary movement. We set ourselves objectives which are modest and I think within the compass of the group but which nonethless give us a perspective--something to strive for.

If it achieved nonthing anywhere else the convention justified itself in recent Vancouver developments. Both Lloyd and Muriel were down. Very fine types, particulalry Lloyd who is extremely capable and with great potentialities. Our relationship with Vancouver is a thousand times better. They have a healthy respect for the center and consult us constantly on even the most minor problem, They have set up a functioning organization and the past two months has seen a phenomenal burst of activity. They have been distributing 500 copies of the past 4 issues of the paper at factory gates, etc. They have held two public meetings and are planning one for Dec 21st. Subs are coming in regulalrly, their financial relationship has improved ahtough on this they could do better and they appear to be devel ping numerous healthy contacts. As I am writing you it appears as if we will be splitting three or four youth from the IPP. This of course is a terrific development.. These youth seem to be of a very high calibre. All of them appear to have been very active and prominent in IPP circles so there is no telling where ~~XXXX

change him on the question of Trotskyism. I guess your article on the Meaning of Labels was not as good as I thought it was. We never made a dent in his petty-bourgeois hide. He wrote a lengthy document in reply to yours in which he called for the purging of Trotsky from our movement..the removal of his picture from the central spot on our wall in the office and its replacement by Marx and Lenin. He also called for cease fire agianst the Stalinist bureaucracy. It appears that the ignorant masse are not capable of understanding the niceties of defence of the USSR and opposition to the Stalinis. bureaucracy. I cannot do justice to the articlein whose production Morrow poured his whole soul and all hisenergies. He appeared at the convention and attempted to through a litt le of his dirt into the gears. It was here that the convention met the real test. I know of no better [illegible] no more sensitive instrument to gauge the success of the convention and the calibre of the dleegates than to tell you what happened next. About a week after the convention Morrow sent me a letter telling us that he was resigning from the paprty...why....because at the convention he saw just who and what the party was built of and realized that it was futile for him to carry on his battle to striaghten us up...finis. We are trying to get Jean into town for a discussion on the trade union situation. At last the IWA is coming into Quebec. They hav accum lated a war chest and the crop appears to be overripe for the picking. Jean in his present position is on the inside of things and is now dreaming of somehow [illegible] counter checking the Stalinists and at the same time making some gains for us. W have just suggested that he and Colin should use their influence to switch over to this drive and try to get jobs on the inside. They will need a director, organizers and will probably publish a paper. It looks to me like an excelent opportu ity to get off the CCL staff into one of the big unions and get ourselves a base among the French Canadian workers. We will always be more or less at the mercy of the bureaucracy as long as we are in the CCL office . Our situation has improved it is true now that Jean has an elected post but we are never going to build a base as any successful organizational work we do will always be turned over to the Steelworkers, U.E. etc. Les Nouvelles is not coming out although Jean is always assuring us that he is negotiating with someone to take over the job. Jean is strongly opposed to our suggestion and has informed us that he will come up for the wek-end shortly to talk it over. He is also pressing us to come across with our promise to send one of us down there.

At the convention we set this as one of our tasks. I am sure that we could build a strong branch in Montreal if we could spare someone for a period. However all our plans have been balled up. Morrow went or rather turned out to be a bad egg. Angus appears to be unable to get down here because of family difficulties but seems to be making plans to move to Vancouver this spring. Paddy is a very good type but not of particular aid in helping us solve this problem. Tom has turned out to be a complete flop. No doubt Gord and Joe told you about him. While he was here(about 40 days) he did practically nothing but disapoint us. He is politically and psychologically off his base. His conduct at our public meetings and our [illegible] branch meetings was disgraceful. You know how bad we are as speakers and chairmen..well he is a thousand times worse. All he did was shout and beller hackneyed phrases. and stumble and stagger all over the place. The comrades were disgusted. [illegible] From the first day he was going to reform the Toronto branch..even get ridoof that speakers stand of yours..too much like a chirch...I have never seen them used before..etc. One of the forums was badlt attended so we should hold forums but turn our face inward and hold classes on Marxian economics. At the last branch meeting he attended he came out in opposition to the policy of by-passing the War Labor Boards as infantile leftism. Didn't even know that this was CCL official policy and when comrades got up to speak attempted to shout them down. We had little opportunity to talk things over with him as he turned up athe office only when he was on the way over to visit his trade union bureaucrat friend the notorious Silby Barrett

The first meeting at which he spoke [illegible] and which was such a terrible flop we let go by as he seemed upset and nervous which we attributed to the fact that he had just left Muriel and Vancouver. He missed a couple of branch meetings as he had a night shiftto work but at the next meeting he attem pted to bull doze Dic k and blew up when I called him to order. I had more or less decided tXX myself that it was time to call a halt but at the P.C. meeting the same we ek we had a very sharp arguement over these Stalinist youth and how they should conduct themselves. I favoured their staying in the IPP and carrying out a principled fight under our guidance. Tom and Murray thought they should come out at once.In the process of the discussion Tom became white het and called these youth a bunch of bastards (it seems that they opposed Tom on some question) and made the ridiculaous charge that I was conducting negotiations with them over the head of the Vancouver comrades. You will recall the letter I sent one of them in reply to his enquiries as to the authenticity of the International Pub. Lenin works.This was part of my negotiations. He picked up his chair and sat over in one corner of the office in a rage. When asked if he was still in the meeting he said yes and gradually cooled down a bit. That week he chaired our XXXXXX Nov 7 meeting and made a fafou of it. I had decided to call a meeting of the P.C. to take up this whole matter but onTuesday morning he informed Murray that he had quit his job and wanted to go back to Vancouver. Well we had an emergency meeting of the P.C. and he XXX went into a song and dance how he couldnot adjust himself in Toronto, could not work , etc. and how he felt he would be alright in Vancouver. At the time I was of the opinion that we should refuse his request as I was becoming convinced that this fellow was just no good and would harm the developments of the Vancouver branch. However we let him go. We [illegible] all E.C. members. Reg immediately wrote back from Vancouver that they had had the same experience with him and was sorry to see him back but was of the opinion that the branch could now handle him XX alright.

That's the story. Very disappointing isn't it. All I hope now is that the Vancouver comrades can hadnle him and that he won't undermine the splendid progress that has been made there in the last two months.

The Toronto branch is coming along fairly well. Besides trying to bring someone into the centre to give us a little more room to manoeuvre we also set ourselves to develop some of the Toronto comrades to play a more prominent role in the paper and the day to day work of the branch. We have been fairly successful at this task. Joe and Gord as you must have seen have come a long way. We are trying to break Ed into the layout of the paper. We are pushing some of the comrades to write but all this will take some time. Our trade union work has pept up a bit. Hugh is now on the executive of the Massey Harris local of the UAW. Paddy is doing not too bad but has a tendency to wage a one man battle with the bosses on picayune points. I am always in fear that he will get fired. Bert has shown a bit of improvement and is puting out a paper in his local which we are writing for. Cant seem to get any work from the gitls but as a whole the branch is developing and expanding. I think we have 30 members now..of course some of them are paper being the wives of the comrades. Gord is going to take a XXXXXX turn on our Sunday night forum, also Paddy, and a little later Vern.

Our big problem is to break out of our isolation. As you know our comrades do not support the forums and those who do never or very seldom bring anyone down with them. As a partial rememdy we have been thinking of running in the civic elections which you know require no deposits or signatures in Toronto. Thinking of running agianst Tory Mayor Saunders. Although we have few persons to work on the camapign and even to do a modest job would be quite a strain I am in favor of running Murray who appears to

have the necessary qualifications. The campaign need not be very elaborate. We could send speakers around to all the election meetings which are very poorly attended but are fairly well covered by the press. For this we could draw up a couple of stock speeches and send various comrades around to the meetings if Murray could not handle them all. I think we could raise [illegible] sufficient money to go on the radio a couple of times. We could not afford any billboards as they are ridiculously expensive and posters are not allowed on the posts etc. Very few stores would take our poster in their window so we are [illegible] unable to use this method for publicity. We could issue some press releases. I am also of the opinion that we should go down to the CCL and TLC Toronto councils and try to get their endorsation. Saunders is a reactionary and I am doubtful if the Stalinists or CCF will run anyone against him so we should be able to make out a good case for endorsation. House to house literature distribution is in my mind out of the questionas our forces are so small and the city so vast. We could increase the press run of the paper Mid DEC to about 10,000 or more with a special front page for Toronto and cover every factory meeting etc. Could do house to house distribution in the Stalinist districts. We will be making the final decision in the next day or so as we will have to announce it in the December issue of the paper. I do not think there is anything to be gained by holding back the news until nomination day as I am fairly certain neither LPP or CCF will run anyone. This of course will make it all the better for us. I hear you are quite an experienced election worker..too bad you cannot be with us.

One thing you can do is give us [illegible] advise as to how to operate and also send us copies of all the literature the SWP put out in their recent campaign . This will be a great help to us..I am afraid that sometimes I am enclined to be a little sectarian and I would like to have a chance to go through this stuff. Could you send this material right away. We will return whatever they want .

Joe and Gord have been telling us about the discussions they had with you and Ruth Benson about the possibilities of her coming up here. I understand that the SWP is in a position of having to cut down its staff. While we have not taken up the question at the P.C. I am of the opnion that we could squeeze another person on the pay-roll. I do not know who else is available but Ruth Benson [illegible] would be a great asset to the National Office. I understand that she is an [illegible] expert administrator with quite a bit of experience at newspaper work. If she were an orator on top of it all why we could all turn in our keys to the office and make off to Montreal and Windsor. I was hoping that we would be able to solve our problems with the forces at our own disposal however it seems that we will not be able to do so for some period...and I think that it is becoming increasingly pressing that some one go to Montreal. As things now stand the choice is between Murray and myself. But without some additional strength here in my opinion it would be ridicluous to let either of us go, particualrly myself. While some of the Toronto comrades are coming along rapidly this developing process takes some time. I have always hated this leaning on the SWP so much as they have greater opportunities than ourselves and need all the personnel that they have so carefully trained but if [illegible] they are in a position of having to cut from their staff such a splendid and able person as Ruth Benson why I think we should take her if she is willing to come. If the party or Ruth herself changes her mind and the SWP still has to cut down its staff perhaps you could do us the favor of keeping your eyes open for someone else whom you think would be able to fill our requirements. I think we could consider some younger comrades with less experience but who appears to have great potentialities. Any serious person would have great opportunities of development up here as we have lots of work and many diverse problems. We hereby commission you our special personnel attorney.

We have not yet received the reports on the SWP election campaign although I understand the camapign itself was a great success. ....and I hear via the grapevine that you were responsible to a considerable extent. It must have been a great experience for the party..a dress rehearsal so to speak for the presidential campaign. Now that that is over what is on yourschedule? If you happen to be upstate at all and are free for a week-end by all means come up and see us. At any rate I hope we will be able to keep in closer contact now that the pressure has eased off a bit.

I think this letter gives you a bit of an idea of what has transpired since I let the correspondence lag. Lets know what you think of everything.

Warmest regards

Ross

1946-Nov

WHAT IS TROTSKYISM? (from notes of a speech to a group of young socialists, date: post-RWP founding in Oct. 1946)

I understand that you are having a series of discussions on the various social, economic and political tendencies that proclaim to possess a philosophy or program that will meet and solve the dilemma that mankind finds itself in today.

It is scarcely necessary to point out to a group of young socialists the extreme crisis into which capitalism has thrust the world today. Even the most conservative bourgeois economists predict a devastating depression, a depression which will throw millions of workers on the streets and slash to the bone the present living standards of the people. The only aspect of this crisis that the bourgeois economists debate over is the exact (timing) when (it will occur), the scope, and what it should be called.

Everyone who isn't afraid to face the facts squarely in the face knows that we are on the brink of another war, a war that may end in the atomic destruction of the globe. For all of us here tonight the solution to this dilemma is socialism – socialism or barbarism is how the question is posed before mankind. Socialism up until the turn of the century could have been looked upon as merely a more rational form of society. Today it is posed more sharply and increasingly more (urgently) not only as the society which will open up new horizons but the only force which can prevent the destruction of what is now known as civilization.

There can be little doubt that the dilemma confronting mankind will be solved in our generation and by our generation, by us. (We are) all agreed on the ultimate objective. The question remains of how to reach the objective, how to rally the forces at hand to storm the citadel of capitalism. History tells us the how, the method of struggle, is on the same plane of importance as the ultimate objective itself. For it is only by the conduct of a correct method of struggle that the objective itself can be reached. Only a fool upon the receipt of a blueprint of a machine would fail to concern himself with the tools at hand and the technique of their use. Without this knowledge the machine will never be constructed.

On the plane of politics we would be indeed superficial if we contented ourselves only with the goal and not with the problems of the day-to-day struggle. We must demonstrate the correct methods of struggle and prepare the workers for the eventual taking over of the means of production.

We can say that on a world scale, that socialism is not only desirable but is on the order of the day. It has been ever since immediately prior to World War I. At the close of World War I millions of the oppressed and downtrodden rose up, advancing to throw off the shackles of capitalism. In only one country in the world were the workers able to break through and establish a workers' state. The forces were there, the will too, but the heroic struggle went down to defeat – (due to the)- failure of the working class leadership.

Today at the close of the Second World War – out of the muck and filth, out of the concentration camps, the forces arise once more. Three main forces are seeking the adherence of

the working class: (1) the Social Democracy, represented by the BLP (British Labor Party), the French SP (Socialist Party), the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Canada); (2) the parties of Stalinism: the CP (Communist Party) of France, the LPP in Canada (Labor Progressive Party); (3) and the parties of the Fourth International: the RWP Canada (Revolutionary Workers Party), the PCI in France (Parti communiste internationaliste), etc.

The latter parties (of the FI) as yet (are) unfortunately by far the smaller; (but they) are growing and becoming a more and more vital force on the world scene. The death of Trotskyism has been predicted a thousand times by its enemies. With the death of Trotsky himself at the hands of the GPU, the great leader of the Russian Revolution and the founder of our world party of Trotskyism (of revolutionary socialism) was deemed dead by its enemies. A Greek CPer had murdered Trotsky. But it never left the headlines and today this movement, despite a fiendish and unparalleled persecution of slander and physical extermination, lives and expands.

Last month the Montreal press reported on the RCP in England. Last week,-- the PCI in France. What is this movement and what does it represent that rouses such hatred from the Stalinists, and persecution from the bourgeoisie? Is it fascist? - The bourgeoisie never persecuted fascists very viciously. (We must) deal with this question only because the Stalinists have gone to great lengths to characterize it as such – the Great Conspiracy – (see Canadian CP writer) Tom Ewen's article, "What is the proof of the Moscow Trials?" (This article) proclaims it (Trotskyism) fascist to justify its extermination and to erect an impenetrable barrier around it. The hatred and violence of the Stalinists against the Trotskyists should of itself put an end to the belief that is held in some circles that Trotskyism is but another form of Stalinism.

This belief is apparently given some substance in that both appear to have arisen from the Russian Revolution of 1917 – from Bolshevism. Stalinism has quite justifiably earned the hatred and contempt of the most conscious elements of the world proletariat. Its utter and complete lack of principle, its contempt for the workers is demonstrated a thousand times in the day-to-day struggles. The Stalin bureaucracy has erected a monstrous machine which is without parallel for its falsification, plunder and repression – devoted entirely to the maintenance of the bureaucratic parasitic caste that is strangling the remnants of the October Revolution.

Stalinism is without doubt the greatest barrier to the development of the working class and the establishment of socialism. But does the struggle against Stalinism require the renouncing of Bolshevism? Is Stalinism the inevitable result of Bolshevism and thus, is Trotskyism only another form of Stalinism? It is no more true to say that Stalinism is the inevitable result of Bolshevism than it is true to say (that) Fascism which arose in Germany is the inevitable result of reformism or democratic socialism. The flaw in the argument that Stalinism is the inevitable result of Bolshevism lies in the identification of Bolshevism, the October Revolution and the Soviet Union.

The Bolsheviks (were) only a political tendency. True, they were closely fused with the working class but (they were) not identical with it. The State erected by the Bolsheviks reflected not only the will and thought of the Bolsheviks, but the cultural level of the country. Bolshevism considered itself (as) only one of the factors of history – the conscious factor – a very important

but not decisive one. (The) decisive factor-- (was) the existing basis of productive forces in the class struggle on a national and international scale. The conquest of power by no means transformed the party into a sovereign ruler of the historical process. The Bolsheviks predicted the degeneration of the revolution if it failed to spread. One of the greatest Stalinist falsifications is this very claim that Stalinism equals Bolshevism; that Stalin is heir to Lenin.

No – Stalinism is not Bolshevism; nor is it the inevitable result (of Bolshevism). To believe this, we would have to ignore its role in the world labor movement: it's support of the King government (during) the last war, (its) acceptance of cabinet posts in the bourgeois government in France and all its perfidies and lies. We would have to ignore the Kremlin bureaucracy's role – it is systematically destroying all the great gains of the October Revolution (the Red Army, education, sex laws, etc.) (We would have to) ignore the Moscow Trials. No, Stalinism is not Bolshevism, is not the great revolutionary force created by Lenin, but is the very opposite – the counter-revolution. It arises from the failure of the revolution to spread elsewhere, to the poverty, the economic and cultural inheritance of Czarism.

Trotskyism is Bolshevism. Its very origins prove this. It crystallized around and rose from the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats, from 1924 on. Trotskyism is Marxism – the Marxism of Marx – a guide to revolutionary struggle which encompassed not only the Labor Theory of Value but the nature of the State and the (concept of) class struggle. It is Marxism, which has been kept nourished and has continued to shoot off new branches in the experiences of the Bolsheviks and the struggles of the Left Opposition.

Some of you may be a little disappointed in that I have not dealt at some length with the question of reform versus revolution – the difference in method that exists between the RWP and the parties of social-democracy. Yes we believe that history proves beyond all reasonable doubt that the capitalist class will not permit the working class to carry out their democratic will – to take over the means of production. Certainly a peaceful change is desirable, but is it possible? History knows of no example of an exploiting minority surrendering peacefully to the oppressed majority.

The actual conduct of the capitalist class, the violence it uses against the workers when they strike for improvement of conditions confirm this and justify our prediction -- e.g., the Lafollette investigation. If there is anything that will prevent the capitalists from using violence, it will be the strong organizations of the working class. The greater (the) strength of the working class, the better prepared (it will be) to meet the capitalist violence (and the less violence) there will be.

The social-democracy stands for absolute confidence in the democratic organization of the capitalist State, in conciliation, arbitration and all this entails. Revolutionary socialism has confidence only in the class conscious development and the organizational strength of the proletariat. But we would indeed be superficial if we left the whole matter on such an abstract plane. The logic of these differences results in socialist-democracies on a world scale supporting the war preparations of their national bourgeoisies, whereas Trotskyism resolutely opposes the military budgets and all war preparations (including the) UNO (United Nations Organisation).

We find the social-democracies of France and Great Britain supporting their respective bourgeoisies' (drive to maintain) their colonial interests.

Whereas, Trotskyism in the colonial (countries) is growing and playing a leading role in the struggle for independence, (and) in the mother countries demanding the withdrawal of troops, etc., we find the social-democracies in England and France opposing the workers struggle against "inflationary wage cuts," and calling in the same words as the bosses for longer hours and lower wages. Whereas, the Trotskyists in Great Britain and France (are doing the opposite—ed.). We find that the social-democracy wherever it is in power, standing first and foremost for the status quo and not for socialism, contenting itself with extremely limited nationalizations. The reason they give is the extreme circumstances they find themselves in – (it) will always be the case. The extreme circumstances can only be answered by socialization of industry.

(fragmented notes follow – ed.)

Where does the CCF stand in this picture? (We see the role of) Grace McInnis at the convention. Not in power, but we can see already the need for a new wage drive – (Charles) Millard is for price ceilings, (yet he gives) support for the military budget which results in oppressive taxes. The Parliamentary Committee (on the) Steel Strike...

What is Trotskyism?-- I think...

(end of notes)